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Inter-Arab Affairs

Arab League Official Arrives in Cairo

NC3010220990 Cairo Domestic Service in Arabic 2100 GMT 30 Oct 90

[Excerpt] As'ad al-As'ad, Arab League assistant secretary general, has arrived in Cairo. In an arrival statement, he said: It gives me pleasure today to come to Cairo, capital of the great sisterly country of Egypt, in implementation of the Arab resolutions providing for the return of the Arab League to its permanent headquarters in Cairo. He added: We will strive to make all arrangements to complete the transfer of the Arab League to Cairo in the best circumstances, God willing, and to settle the rights of the employees in accordance with the Arab League resolutions. [passage omitted]

GCC Secretary Interviewed on Gulf Crisis

NC2710221890 Cairo Domestic Service in Arabic 1500 GMT 27 Oct 90

[Interview with Gulf Cooperation Council Secretary General Dr. 'Abdallah Bisharah by radio correspondent Muhammad Zayd on the "Spotlights on Events" program; date and place not given—recorded]

[Text] [Zayd] Dr. Bisharah, in the wake of the Iraqi occupation of Kuwait, it seems that the Iraqi president is intransigent, opposed to international stands, and not willing to withdraw. How do you view the situation?

[Bisharah] Very frankly, if the Iraqi president does not withdraw, he will be forced to do so. If he does not withdraw within the framework of the implementation of the Security Council resolutions, then withdrawal will be imposed on him by force. The problem with the Iraqi regime is that it doubts it will have to face the [multinational] forces. Therefore it is acting on three fronts.

The first front is world public opinion. It believes that world public opinion, particularly U.S. public opinion, is divided and that this is influencing the international will. The third one [as heard] is that it is exaggerating its might too much and is trying to influence U.S. public opinion by overestimating the number of U.S. victims and losses. By this exaggeration, it is lying and is pursuing a false philosophy and a deceptive tactic. The third front is that it is exaggerating the possibility of a diplomatic solution within the Arab framework. Here, it is procrastinating and lying because it knows there is no Arab solution and that all this is an attempt at procrastination. Those talking about the availability of an Arab solution and trying to make the world believe this are also serving the Iraqi tactic about an Arab solution. The aim is to influence the international will, not to resort to other means to liberate Kuwait. The PLO chairman and Jordan are the basic players in this ploy. The Iraqi regime also believes that international determination will cool with the passage of time. This is [word indistinct]. I have returned from the United Nations and from embassies, and I know what is going on. I know that Kuwait will in the end be liberated, either through diplomatic or military means. By the way, diplomacy cannot be separated from the hints of (?military use). The efficient diplomacy that achieves results is the one based on the ability to resort to arms and forces; otherwise, it remains a valueless diplomacy.

[Zayd] The Gulf Cooperation Council helped the Iraqi president a lot during his war with Iran. The Iraqi president withdrew from Iran and agreed to the 1975 agreement, but he did not withdraw from Kuwait, which supported him in his tribulation and stood with him. How do you explain this?

[Bisharah] The Iraqi president believes that the arrangements he presented to Iran and his humiliating capitulation to it will neutralize Iran and that he will kill two birds with the same stone by escaping the effects of the sanctions and by escaping the political siege imposed on him. He believes that by capitulating to Iran he can upset the regional balance; that is, he believes he can win Iran's friendship and alliance against the multinational forces. That was his calculation. He thought that if he won Iran over to Iraq's side, then the regional confrontation would have been overturned and that this would have affected the [word indistinct] and political position of the multinational force. The capitulation was a tactical move within the framework of an Iraqi strategy to neutralize Iran and to draw it to its side in order to keep Kuwait. Iraq is desperate to annex Kuwait because it believes that the latter is a bank, a treasury. This is the truth. It does not care about Kuwait's people as much as Kuwait's territory. But it will get neither the Kuwaiti people nor the Kuwaiti territories.

[Zayd] But, Dr. 'Abdallah, the Iraqi people are robbed of their will and are facing difficulties and bottlenecks because of this intransigent Iraqi stand. What is the Iraqi people's crime?

[Bisharah] The Iraqi people are tyrannized. They will not get the rights of all other people. People in Asia and Africa are enjoying rights the Iraqi people do not have. Not only political rights but also everyday civilized life are absent in Iraq. Of course the Iraqi people are tyrannized. Their crime? They should confront this reckless policy and this idiotic leadership.

Arab Transport Ministers Arrive in Cairo

Kuwaiti Minister Arrives

NC2510084190 Cairo MENA in English 2233 GMT 24 Oct 90

[Text] Cairo Oct 24 (MENA)—Kuwaiti Minister of Transport and Communications Habib Jawhar arrived here tonight to attend the meetings of the council of the Arab ministers of transport and communications, due to open here on Friday.

The minister was welcomed upon arrival at the airport by minister of Transport and Communications Sulayman Mutawalli and Kuwaiti Ambassador 'Abd al-Razzaq al-Kandari.

Qatari Minister Arrives

NC2610190390 Cairo MENA in English 1753 GMT 26 Oct 90

[Text] Cairo, Oct 26 (MENA)—Qatari Minister of Transportation and Communications 'Abdallah Salih al-Mana' arrived here today on a few days' visit to Egypt. He will attend during his visit the sixth session of Arab transportation ministers, scheduled for tomorrow.

Libyan Minister Arrives

NC2610225090 Cairo MENA in Arabic 2231 GMT 26 Oct 90

[Text] Cairo, 26 Oct (MENA)—Engineer 'Izz-al-Din al-Hinshari, secretary of the Libyan General People's Committee for Transport/minister of transport [title as received], arrived in Cairo this evening to participate in the sixth session of the Arab transport ministers conference, due to start tomorrow [27 October], Saturday.

He was received at the airport by Engineer Sulayman Mutawalli, minister of transport and communications.

Algeria

Ministers To Send Milk, Flour to Iraq, Kuwait

LD3110230090 Algiers Domestic Service in Arabic 1830 GMT 31 Oct 90

[Excerpt] The Council of Ministers held a meeting today under the chairmanship of President Chadli Bendjedid. Details of the issues discussed at the meeting from (Hasibah Kashkul):

[Kashkul] At the beginning of its proceedings, the Council of Ministers ratified a bill on the national plan for the next year. The council of Ministers also studied a bill on securities and endorsed a proposal on the implementation of judicial decisions. The president insisted that everything must be done to ensure the safeguarding of citizens' interests in their disputes with the state and respect for judicial decisions at the level of the competent bodies. [Passage omitted]

The Council of Ministers decided to send quantities of milk and flour to Iraq and Kuwait, specifically for children.

Bendjedid To Remit Convicts Sentences

LD3110193790 Algiers Domestic Service in Arabic 1830 GMT 31 Oct 90

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] On the occasion of the anniversary of the November Revolution, President Chadli Bendjedid has endorsed measures for pardoning some categories of prisoners. In the implementation of this measure, those who are serving life sentence will be granted remissions when the remainder of their sentence is less than one year [as heard] and if they had no previous convictions. Other categories of prisoners will benefit from various reductions of sentence, according to the gravity of the sentence. On the same occasion, President Chadli Bendjedid endorsed special pardons for some prisoners who are serving life sentences and are nationals of Arab Maghreb Union member countries.

Foreign Minister Comments on Maghreb Future

LD0111041690 Algiers Domestic Service in Arabic 2200 GMT 31 Oct 90

[Text] Foreign Minister Sid Ahmed Ghazali made a statment to the Paris monthly ARABESQUES in which he said the current efforts to build the Greater Arab Maghreb constitute a source for hope in the whirlpool in which the Arab world is living. Concerning the aims [word indistinct] in the Maghreb grouping by the politicians headed by Algeria, Mr. Ghazali explained that one should talk about continuity, noting that the course of building the Arab Maghreb union cannot be divided according to the successive presidential terms of office. He affirmed that every president is entrusted with carrying out the resolutions that have been made previously and he has to prepare other resolutions. The foreign minister noted that what was absent was a strategy that defines the stages that must be crossed and the priorities and the points that deserve deeper study. In this connection, Mr. Ghazali expressed the hope that a strategy will be drawn up in the shadow of Algeria's being chairman of the Union. He added that the coming meeting of the foreign ministers of the Arab Maghreb states, which will be expanded to include the economy and agriculture ministers, will discuss this subject. Ghazali also talked in his statement about a number of issues, including relations between the Arab Maghreb union and the EEC and also the Gulf crisis about which he said the diplomatic option is undoubtedly the only solution in the interests of Arab nations.

Visa Requirement for Swiss Nationals Introduced

LD3110202190 Algiers Domestic Service in Arabic 1830 GMT 31 Oct 90

[Text] Following the announcement by Switzerland to impose visa requirements on Maghreb nationals for entry to its territory, the Algerian authorities today decided to impose entry visa requirements for Swiss nationals who wish to visit Algeria as of tomorrow [1 November] morning.

Egypt

Jordan Refuses To Allow Passage of Buses to Syria

NC0111151990 Cairo MENA in Arabic 1400 GMT 1 Nov 90

[Text] Cairo, 1 Nov (MENA)—An official source in the Ministry of Transportation, Communications, and Maritime Transport has stated that the Jordanian authorities have refused to allow Egyptian buses to pass through Jordanian territory to Syria. The source said that an agreement had been reached with Syria to operate a new transportation route between Cairo and Damascus via Jordan effective today, 1 November. However, the Jordanian authorities have refused to allow buses to pass through their territory.

The source said that in light of this, it has been decided to postpone the operation of this new transportation route until the necessary contacts are held [words indistinct].

Paper Reports Strain in Relations With Sudan

LD0111093990 London AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT in Ar... 28 Oct 90 pp 1, 4

[Mahmud Sadiq report: "Egypt Refuses To Receive Al-Bashir or Dispatch Envoy to Khartoum"]

[Text] Cairo, AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT—An Egyptian source has denied what has been reported about the closure of airspace to Sudanese planes. The source said that Egypt does not pursue such policies, nor does it do anything secretly. And if there is a need for such a decision, it would not hesitate to declare it to the world, along with the reasons for it, that is.

Commenting on reports from Khartoum that a notification to that effect was handed officially to Sudan Airlines, the source told AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT in an exclusive statement that that is untrue, though it applies to Sudanese planes suspected of violating Security Council Resolution 670 imposing an air blockade on Iraq.

The source cited as proof the fact that two planes coming from Sudan landed at Cairo International Airport yesterday: Egypt Air flight 754 at 1000 and Sudan Airlines flight 102 at about 1500.

He added that available information indicates that Sudanese planes carry goods and commodities to Jordan which are in turn transported to Baghdad—in violation of the international resolution unanimously adopted by the Security Council.

Meanwhile, AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT has learned that a decision has been taken to reconsider the idea of dispatching an Egyptian envoy to Khartoum in return for the recent visit to Cairo by Colonel Salah al-Din Karrar, member of the Sudanese Revolution Command Council, during which he handed a message to President Husni Mubarak from Lieutenant General 'Umar al-Bashir, chairman of the Sudanese Revolution Command Council.

Egypt's rejection of the idea of sending a special envoy is due to the lack of a fundamental change in the Sudanese position on the Gulf crisis and the Iraqi forces' withdrawal from Kuwait. This is in addition to its recently stated position on the transfer of the Arab League General Secretariat's headquarters [to Cairo], as well as Sudan's inclusion in the alliance which Iraq is seeking to form with some of the Arab states supporting it with a view to hampering the Arab League's transfer procedures.

AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT has also learned from Sudanese sources in Cairo that the political leadership in Sudan had hoped that Egypt would invite Lt. Gen. al-Bashir to visit Cairo and meet with President Husni Mubarak, but that the Egyptian assessment pointed to the futility of such a visit in present conditions in the absence of any signs or indications of a change in the Sudanese position.

The present political leadership in Sudan fears that Egypt could take other measures, including the abolition of military training grants for a number of Sudanese officers in the Egyptian military academies and institutes along with the scholarships allocated to some Sudanese students at al-Azhar and other universities.

Explosives, Weapons Seized in Bani Suwayf

NC3110211490 Cairo MENA in Arabic 1744 GMT 31 Oct 90

[Text] Bani Suwayf, 31 Oct (MENA)—Security forces today seized quantities of explosive devices filled with TNT from the house of an extremist in Bani Suwayf's al-Hummiyat district.

The seizure of the explosives followed an explosion at the house, which is located on al-Mansur Street. A 17-year-old woman named Aman 'Abd-al-'Aziz 'Azzuz, who was using the alias Hamdiyah, was injured in the blast and her left hand had to be amputated. Another young woman sustained various injuries to the thighs, knees, and right hand. The two were taken to Bani Suwayf Hospital for treatment.

Major General Ibrahim Muhsin Sarhan, chief of the Bani Suwayf security department; Maj. Gen. 'Abd-al-'Aziz 'Ali, Interior Ministry inspector; Maj. Gen. Usamah al-Khashshab amd Ibrahim 'Abd-al-Raziq, deputies to the chief of security; and Brigadier General Bakri 'Abd-al-'Azim, chief of the Bani Suwayf police department, visited the scene of the explosion.

The security forces evacuated the area to prevent casualties among civilians while explosives experts searched the house where the explosion had occurred. In one room the experts found a quantity of glass jars full of TNT, ready for use, and quantities of metal chains, daggers, swords, bayonets, meat cleavers, and flammable chemicals used in the manufacture of explosives and the preparation of explosive devices. The police also found quantities of leaflets and banned books.

Investigations have revealed that the explosives belong to Sayyid 'Abd-al-'Aziz 'Azzuz, the injured woman's brother. He belongs to an extremist organization which calls itself "The Caliphate" [al-Khalifah] and has been arrested as a threat to public security. A search is under way so that he can be arrested and referred for trial.

Ashraf 'Abd-al-'Al al-Jarihi, the Bani Suwayf public prosecutor, has opened an investigation into the incident.

Abd-al-Majid Returns From Saudi Arabia

NC3110231190 Cairo MENA in English 2255 GMT 31 Oct 90

[Text] Cairo, Oct. 31 (MENA)—Deputy Premier and Foreign Minister Dr. 'Ismat 'Abd-al-Majid returned home tonight after a few hours visit to Saudi Arabia during which he was received by King Fahd.

Dr. 'Abd-al-Majid attended the tripartite meeting along with Saudi Foreign Minister Prince Sa'ud al-Faysal and Syrian Foreign Minister Faruq al-Shar'.

In an arrival statement, Dr. 'Abd-al-Majid said the tripartite meeting, which comprised Egypt, Saudi Arabia, and Syria, came within continuous consultations in the (?wake of the developments in the Gulf).

He said it has been agreed to hold the next tripartite meeting in Damascus in the near future.

He added that he would submit a report to President Husni Mubarak on his visit to Arabia.

Meanwhile, 'Abd-al-Majid said the visit of U.S. Secretary of State James Baker to the area comes within the framework of contacts with [words indistinct].

Denmark To Give 120 Million Kroners in Aid

NC3110190390 Cairo MENA in English 1753 GMT 31 Oct 90

[Text] Cairo, Oct 31 (MENA)—The Danish Government has decided to give Egypt about 120 million kroners in urgent economic aid within the framework of European assistance programme for the countries whose economies have been adversely affected by the Gulf crisis, Ministry of International Cooperation sources said here today.

Following the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait and massive exodus of Egyptian workers from Kuwait and Iraq, Denmark granted Egypt 25 million kroners, the sources added.

The Danish Government is currently considering an increase in the economic aid to Egypt during the coming five years to reach one billion and 95 million kroners, the sources added.

Joint Communique Issued After Mengistu Visit

NC3110210490 Cairo MENA in Arabic 1323 GMT 31 Oct 90

[Text] Cairo, 31 Oct (MENA)—Egypt and Ethiopia emphasized today their joint stand on the Gulf crisis. The two countries condemned Iraq's invasion of Kuwait and demanded a complete and unconditional implementation of the UN Security Council resolutions in this respect.

This came in a joint communique released today at the end of Ethiopian President Mengistu Haile Mariam's two-day visit to Egypt.

The communique said Presidents Mubarak and Mengistu held extensive talks on various issues, in particular bilateral relations, the situation in Africa, the Gulf crisis, and the Middle East situation.

The joint communique added that Presidents Mubarak and Mengistu exchanged views on the situation in the Horn of Africa and asserted the need to resolve all the region's issues by peaceful means and on the basis of respect for the sovereignty, unity, and territorial integrity of the region's countries. In this regard, the two presidents emphasized the need to respect the principles and ideas contained in the 9 July 1990 declaration by the summit conference of the six-country (al-Ijad) organization with a view to achieving permanent peace in the region.

The communique said that the two presidents exchanged views in a broad manner on all aspects of bilateral relations and agreed, in particular, to expand bilateral cooperation in the economic and social fields. They also agreed to strengthen peace and cooperation among the Nile basin states.

The two presidents also discussed in-depth security in the Red Sea area and agreed to cooperate closely in this regard to ensure peace, stability, and the territorial integrity of all the states in the region.

President Mengistu extended an invitation to President Mubarak to visit Ethiopia. President Mubarak accepted the invitation. The date for the visit will be set through diplomatic channels.

Commentary Assesses War, Peace Prospects in Gulf

NC3110171790 Cairo Domestic Service in Arabic 1240 GMT 31 Oct 90

[Ibrahim Wahbi commentary: "An Appraisal of the Current Gulf Situation"]

[Text] The international stance toward the Gulf has developed into two main approaches: The first is preparing for war until a path to peace is found, and the second is preparing for peace until it becomes possible to abandon the path to war. The two prospects might appear similar. However, the fact is that the first approach is based on war and the second on peace, despite the fact that both approaches meet at the point of a collective international determination to liberate Kuwait and restore the legitimate status quo to what it was prior to 2 August.

The United States adopts the first approach. It is completing its military preparations in the Gulf while announcing that preparation for war is the sole way to peace.

The USSR adopts the second course and has dispatched its envoy, Primakov, on a shuttle diplomacy trip to the Middle East, in particular to the Gulf countries. However, Primakov failed to overcome the Iraqi ruler's obstinacy.

The international community has thwarted Saddam Husayn's attempts to benefit from international contradictions. He failed to drive a wedge between the Soviets and the United States. Similarly, he failed to divide the European countries by playing the hostage card, and releasing the citizens of some countries and not others. The EC finally decided to regard itself as a unit with a collective view on this issue, and ruled that discussion of the hostage affair would be conducted with a delegate representing the entire European Community.

The Iraqi ruler is trying to exploit the differing degrees of support for war or peace in order to obtain the best possible conditions for negotiations, and thus cut his losses as a result of his miscalculated adventure. He is doing this despite the fact that the major powers rejected in advance any conditions for Iraq's withdrawal from Kuwait.

We believe that time is not working in Iraq's favor, as it is besieged on all sides and in all areas. The more time passes, the greater its needs will grow, and the greater its

needs, the stronger its wish will be to extract itself from this siege at any cost. The same thing happened when Iraq relinquished all the gains it made during its eight-year war with Iran. The longer the Iraqi ruler remains obstinate, the more the Iraqi people will feel that it is futile to pursue this adventure, and that the losses sustained are not limited to the Iraqi people but affect the Arab nation's unity as well.

The Iraqi ruler's stand harmed the unity in the Arab ranks and gave the Israelis the green light to attempt to liquidate the Palestinian people, in the same way as the Kuwaiti people are being liquidated. This stand was also responsible for the presence of foreign forces, which the Arab countries found themselves compelled to accept in order to fend off the threat of invasion and occupation. What the Iraqi invasion demolished in a matter of months will require decades to rebuild, as will the restoration of development and stability to the region. It will take many years to repair the damage which Iraq inflicted in 90 days on the Arabs as a unified entity.

With regard to the UN Security Council, the 10th resolution on reparations and reiterating its condemnation of Iraq was the last peaceful resolution that the Security Council can adopt. What remains is for it to grant some form of permission to use the military option under the Security Council's supervision in accordance with Articles 50 and 51 of the UN Charter.

It would be wrong to suppose that the major powers will halt their activity at the point of mere military preparation and keep their troops in Saudi Arabia, the Gulf, and the surrounding seas in a state of permanent readiness that costs billions of dollars per day. For this reason we again emphasize that the world is serious about restoring the legitimacy which the Iraqi Government violated by occupying Kuwait. If the world fails to restore legitimacy by peace, nothing will hinder it from resorting to military action to restore this legitimacy.

Editorial Considers Mubarak's Gulf Tour, Security

JN3010135690 Cairo AL-JUMHURIYAH in Arabic 27 Oct 90 p 3

[Report: "Common Concept of Economic and Military Security" by Chief Editor Mahfuz al-Ansari]

[Text] President Mubarak's tour of several Gulf states began last Monday [22 October] morning with a meeting with members of his delegation in his office in the presidential plane. The tour ended last Thursday night with a meeting with the chief editors.

A short while after the plane took off from Cairo airport and before leaving Egyptian airspace, Mubarak called the members of his delegation and chief aides to his office.

This was the first trip by the president outside his country since the outbreak of the crisis on 2 August.

The tour marks a new beginning to assess and analyze the situation and its possibilities at the highest levels in a direct manner, after three months of tension and confrontation and with the situation unresolved by political or military means.

Logic and wisdom demand rapidity in all directions without waiting for results and decisions.

No matter how long it takes, the crisis is bound to come to an end through war or peace. The thorn choking the Arab order is bound to be removed.

Protecting the present and providing guarantees for the future call for coordination, joint work, and rapid action to remove any negative effects of the continuation of the present situation, the [Iraqi] occupation, the foreign presence, and the propaganda war that has not abated.

Throughout the previous period; that is, since the beginning of the crisis and until this tour, not a single day has passed without President Mubarak receiving a king, a head of state, a special envoy, a foreign delegation, or a minister. Never has a day passed without him sending a message to, or holding a telephone conversation with, one leader or another.

At the Arab summit conference, the president discussed privately the full details of the situation with every Arab leader.

Today, however, the situation is new. True, positions and facts are clear now, yet we still have to deal with these stands and facts and the conspiracies and maneuverings in a direct, coordinated, and harmonious manner. We must plan our action and moves to cope with these clear positions and facts.

What remains is not only to agree on how to cope with what is taking place around and against us, but more important, to build the bases for the future and to strengthen the foundations of the present.

I will not begin by ignoring and playing down what has taken place, but by considering the light this crisis has shed on the entire Arab situation. I will not begin by forgetting past experience, but by learning the lessons of that bitter experience.

In such "sensitive" matters and "critical" moments, Mubarak does not like anyone to ruin his work or try to misunderstand him. Nor does he like to lose any opportunity for frank talk that will help avert danger or help assess the situation realistically. He is not interested in illusions that prevent us from seeing the present and future clearly and therefore following the right course.

This was why President Mubarak made a point of meeting with his ministers and aides. He wanted to explain to them his "work philosophy", his assessment, and the method of coping with the situation without any hesitation to avoid waste of time and effort.

The president did not rush matters. This would have spoiled everything. He simply called his team to a round of talks before his plane landed at its first destination, Saudi Arabia, in order to:

1. Clearly define the objective.

2. Clearly define the method of work.

We here in Egypt and those in the Kingdom and in the entire Gulf are "one". There is no need for anyone of us to try to be "clever" to the other. Nor is there any need for tactics or maneuverings.

If the crisis has revealed the facts and removed all ambiguities and fallacies, here it is now confirming them.

So, let our work be based on frankness, open discussion, and cooperation.

Let us raise ourselves and intentions to the level and enormity of the crisis.

At the end of the tour, the president came to the place where we, the journalists, were sitting. As he is accustomed to, he sat among us.

There was no time for more than a teacup of anise served to him by senior hostess Hamidah as is always the case. His usual cup of coffee was not served this time. The man was tired and exhausted before the end of his tour, before he had arrived in Cairo—the point at which he began and ended his tour.

Mubarak was frank as usual; he was direct and simple. That is how he is when he is with us. He was clear in what he wants to say. He spoke to us in the briefest terms.

He was able to convince us that what he was saying to us was everything; he did not hide anything from us.

Behind all that he was saying and all he said, however, there are mountains of secrets, information, and political stories that reveal, or in fact, make the events. They are the stories of men, leaders, and politicians; the stories of plots, maneuvers, and arrangements.

President Mubarak is capable of saying and not saying at the same time. He reveals what he wants to; and here he speaks. He hides, however, what should be hidden at this or that moment—and what he hides is a great deal; and here he does not speak.

The important thing is that it was clear from the president's mood and his talk that his mission was successful. His words did not bear any kind of reservation when speaking about the leaders he met—Fahd Bin-'Abd-al-'Aziz, custodian of the two holy mosques; Shaykh Zayid Bin-Sultan Al Nuhayyan; Shaykh Khalifah Bin-Hamad Al Thani; and Sultan Qabus Bin-Sa'id. There was no kind of reservation also while speaking about the topics and issues that were discussed.

From the beginning of the tour—and even before it started—the following were not a secret:

—The Arab situation, and the regional situation, cannot continue as before the crisis regardless of the way out from this crisis.

—Relations among the brothers who opted for standing on the side of legitimacy and principle should enter a new stage—that is, the post-crisis stage—in which the responsibilities and burdens will be balanced and become integrated.

—The current situation, particularly the detrimental effects on some parties, should be tackled together with the security imbalance imposed by the invasion, annexation, and confrontation.

As it was necessary for the brothers to hurry with their forces to stand on the side of justice to face the aggression and achieve military stability, it is also necessary to protect the internal front and stability in the countries whose economy has been harmed as a result of the return of hundreds of thousands of their working sons, particularly the countries that dispatched and are still dispatching their forces to the area of operations and to the first confrontation lines to deter the aggression, hoping that peace calls will be responded to.

—Although Westerners and Americans are concerned about the issue of security arrangements in this important strategic region, which was and is still one of the hot areas that might precipitate a war, the regional, and in particular, Arab necessity made these arrangements a topic of discussion and consultation. However, what form of defense, protection, and collective security might this be?

I do not believe that it is prohibited to speak about the experiment or tragedy of the departure or expulsion of a whole people from their homeland freely at the beginning, and forcibly and through terrorization at a later stage.

Within this framework, the two sides of the picture are as follows:

—How can we ensure security for the sons of the small countries with small populations in the Gulf and encourage them to hold fast to their land and defend it as well as to create a material and real sense of security and tranquility?

—And how, at the same time, can we maintain the stability, safety, and security of a state like Egypt, which is harmed most economically and socially as a result of the crisis? Meanwhile, it is the country that is most capable of creating the spirit of stability and security in the region and maintaining balance, as well as the fastest and most capable of dispatching its forces for deterrence and defense as well as to prevent any new adventures.

It was in this balanced and integrated way the president spoke to us.

Mubarak presented to us (strategic) factors and components.

The president touched on the headlines of the issues discussed with the leaders and brothers without going into details.

At the end of the meeting, however, he was as careful with us as he was with his (chiefs of staff), ministers, and advisers at the beginning of the meeting, to emphasize the lofty objective, the higher aims.

He was careful to explain and clarify the seriousness of the moment and the sensitivity of the situation and its complications, in addition to the dangers that might result from misunderstandings, bad intentions, and exploitation of any errors or circumstances by many sides to marr the atmosphere.

After this, the president expressed satisfaction with regard to the warmth of the meetings and their sincerity and frankness.

He was pleased to hear from (the custodian of the two holy mosques) what he would hesitate to present or raise at the table of dialogue and negotiations.

He was pleased that Fahd Bin-'Abd-al-'Aziz took the initiative and presented the ideas and the (frameworks) to determine and organize the programs of cooperation, support, finance, and economic cooperation with Egypt. Not only on the bilateral level between Egypt and Riyadh, but also on the level of all Gulf states.

I think and feel that Mubarak's happiness was enormous when he saw the Saudi monarch presenting himself as Egypt's advocate, defending the cause, which is an inseparable part of the issue of Arab security in its full and comprehensive sense—economic, political, and military security—and the issue of stability in its social form as it is the case in Egypt and its military form along with its threats as it is the case in the Gulf now and tomorrow.

The situation as a result of this integration and as viewed by Mubarak and Fahd, requires rapid work and movement where the problem is taking place, in form and essence, in order to tackle its economic aspect and its reflections on security and stability, in addition to the military aspect along with its psychological effects on the Gulf citizens in terms of security, stability, and trust.

Therefore, the president did not surprise us vis-a-vis the atmosphere, (strategic) situation, and the comprehensive (political philosophy) which he explained and presented to us as a comprehensive view of a crisis, the present and reality of a nation, and a future whose pillars it builds and secures.

We were not taken by surprise when the president told us that Egypt's decision is to advocate Egyptian military support for the Gulf states in accordance with their needs and demands, the requirements of a confrontation and the necessities of safety and security.

Therefore, the president is about to dispatch an armed division to the operation theater, Hafr al-Batin in Saudi Arabia, and the Egyptian operation rooms are studying the importance of and the need to reinforce this presence with an air force for protection and security, in addition to the air defense which is currently accompanying the mechanical division and the commandos already present there.

We were not very surprised in light of what we heard from Mubarak in terms of indications and information about the contents of the negotiations and their results. Moreover, we were not surprised when we heard him explaining to us, with no details, the five-year economic cooperation program between the Gulf states and Egypt which deals with the following: 1. Financial aid to deal with the deficit in the balance of Egyptian payments—approximately 7 billion Egyptian pounds—and the balance of the annual financial shortage—approximately $2 billion. Moreover, monetary aid to finance emergency needs, compenste the shortage in remittances as a result of the return of those working abroad and the shortage caused by decreased activity in the Canal and decreased exports, in addition to other factors. 2. Also, the financing of projects opening new and immediate job opportunities for more than 600,000 returnees from the Gulf in addition to those currently unemployed, whose number is on the rise daily.

There are many ideas in the formula by which this operation will be carried out. For example,

1. Going to the Gulf with Egyptian forces contributing to its support, security, and defense.

2. In return Egypt will receive aid, support, and investments from Gulf nations.

No one would openly disclose the formula or the body that will organize and take care of this. The president indicated that there exists a general framework; he did not elaborate.

But there have been various views by both sides: Some thought of reviving the Gulf Cooperation Organization [hay'at al-ta'awun al-khaliji]. But because the past experience was a failure, everyone rejected the idea. Out of $2 billion allocated for Egypt in 1977, there remains now $300 million in the organization's fund. It is most likely that representatives of four GCC countries—Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Qatar, and the United Arab Emirates—will meet in Jeddah tomorrow to decide to grant this remaining sum to Egypt and to declare that the full sum—$2 billion—is a nonrepayable grant to Egypt.

Others thought of an alliance, with economic and military wings, parallel to the NATO and the OECD, founded by the Western alliance after World War II.

But the idea of alliances, at a time when alliances are being abolished, is no longer acceptable. I think President Mubarak was clear here, because he is fully aware of the feelings of peoples and their inborn and natural rejection of the word "alliance," regardless of its real content.

And yet, others thought of a two-way framework: Egypt on one side, and the Gulf states on the other.

And others thought of a multifaceted framework.

But despite all these views and ideas, the priority, clearly, is for addressing the existing situation with a view to protecting peoples, stabilizing states, and entrenching self-confidence. Peoples, especially the Gulf peoples, are deeply worried that the crisis has not yet been resolved; states need true economic, military, and political solidarity; and leaders need meetings, consultations, exchanges of information, and a common outlook to the danger.

There was agreement, therefore, to consolidate the Egyptian military presence within the framework of military concepts and the requirements of defense and security.

And there was agreement to help the Egyptian economy.

The coming stage, therefore, will witness intensive meetings and exchange of delegations between Egypt and the Gulf.

The coming stage will also witness increasing Egyptian activity in terms of preparing projects, ending feasibility studies, and submitting tenders to begin the execution of a large number of projects in the field of agriculture, industry, services, tourism, and small industry throughout the country.

The funding of these projects has been secured, and we have only to open tenders and begin implementation.

Any hindrance or delay will be a purely Egyptian responsibility.

It is certain that President Mubarak has made a large program of action at the domestic level to end preparation and begin implementation.

He also prepared a precise follow-up plan and certain assignments for the Council of Ministers.

If some of us like to evaluate results of major actions through the language of figures, then then let us use this language:

The first figure—which I myself once considered as a negative action or decision—is that of debts.

Kuwait wrote off a debt of $3.3 billion.

Saudi Arabia wrote off a debt of $2.5 billion.

Qatar was the first to write off debts; this involved $700 million.

During our fleeting visit to Doha with the President, my friend Dr. 'Isa al-Kawari admonished me for my article entitled "The Negative Decision", saying I was ungrateful for the "good gesture" when I described Qatar's decision to write off the debts as a negative decision.

After thanking him for his remark, I said to him: "I am afraid that people will misjudge you the way you misjudged my intention."

I started that article thanking the brothers who took the initiative of dropping Egyptian debts without Egypt's request. I think that all of them have done so now.

I am, however, always for rising to the level of the crisis. It was neither time to drop the debt nor to repay it, nor even think of it. This is not because there is no desire on the part of Egypt to repay it, but because of its inability and the pressures of the priority of the crisis.

The time was and continues to be that of warding off the danger and entrenching stability through military and economic security and tangible action.

My friend 'Isa al-Kawari replied: Who said we will not or we have not done so?

I said, confident in what he said: I only wanted to absorb a reaction which could have misjudged the initiative and what followed it.

At any rate, let us continue the language of figures: The United Arab Emirates dropped about $800 million of debt owed by Egypt. This brings overall dropped debts to over $7 billion.

In addition, an understanding and a basic agreement have taken place about a cooperation formula in the coming phase.

Some are talking about $10 billion, others are talking about $6 billion. However, providing new job opportunities for only part of the returnees to Egypt costs $4.5 billion.

There is a heated race between the pressure of the crisis and the way of dealing with it. The efforts exerted by Mubarak are not confined to the Arab arena, but they extend to both the U.S. and European arenas.

While Mubarak is arriving at a formula and a framework for a comprehensive economic and military security between Egypt and the Gulf states, we find that the joint committee comprising members from the U.S. House of Representatives and Senate agree not to apply "Brook's Law" to Egypt until next March. The committee also agreed to give Egypt the right not to pay the debt payments and services without denying it aid in accordance with Brook's Law. The United States is prepared to drop nine-tenths of the military debt which amounts to about $7 billion, on which there is an annual interest amounting to $500 million.

Moreover, the U.S. President urged the Western allies to which Egypt is indebted to hold a summit meeting under his chairmanship to discuss the elimination or reduction of debts and their obligations.

Using the language of figures again, Mubarak's political and strategic moves on the current crisis and his continuous efforts over the past nine years, which have been characterized with tolerance, patience, wisdom, and diligence, in addition to his personal relations with leaders and the well-knitted bilateral relations with other nations, have momentarily caused about $14 million to

be dropped. This constitutes one-third of Egypt's general civilian and military debt, which has amounted to $42 or $43 billion. Moreover, other Western states are about to meet to drop a large portion of their debts.

That is the outcome of the president's action and his three-day tour of four states during which he accomplished what has been mentioned above.

This is the outcome of a strategic option, distinguished relations, and wise policy, which resulted in the U.S. military debt decision. Also, a unified Western position on Egypt's debts and on immediate aid for it will be formulated soon.

All this, however, remains the outcome of the effort of an individual, a leadership, a political administration, and a strategy and international relations.

What is decisively required is a good exploitation of the effort of the leadership. What is required is to turn the society with its intermediate leaderships, higher administrations, and professional, technical, scientific, and political forces into an active beehive.

What is required is to rise to the level of the challenge. This could be the last of chances. It has once been said: A harmful thing may lead to positive results.

Our talk on the president's tour and dialogue with Gulf officials about the changeable and the constant in the minds of some people and officials will be continued.

Deployment of Armored Division Reported Postponed

JN3110211290 Abu Dhabi AL-ITTIHAD in Arabic 27 Oct 90 p 1

[Text] Cairo—AL-ITTIHAD has learned that the departure of the Egyptian 4th Armored Division to Saudi Arabia, which was scheduled to begin yesterday, has been postponed until 10 November because the Saudi port of Yanbu' is presently busy receiving some Syrian and U.S. military equipment.

Libya

Al-Qadhdhafi Comments to Italian Media on Gulf

AU3110140090 Rome ANSA in English 1243 GMT 31 Oct 90

[Text] (ANSA) Rome, October 31—The new development to emerge in the Ustica affair is "the admission of Giscard d'Estaing to the effect that he had made an agreement with the Americans to eliminate me," according to Libyan leader Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi in an interview to the Italian private television network Retequattro, (?excerpts) of which were made public today.

"Involved in the crime, therefore, was France and the United States, with the complicity of Italian circles," he went on.

The Libyan leader said he was amazed to find that these states, which normally claim to be vigorously combatting terrorism, were involved in a terrorist plan of such a "cowardly, barbaric and ridiculous nature."

Al-Qadhdhafi noted that he was not accusing Italian services, but had spoken generally of "Italian circles." In fact, he voiced gratitude to these Italian services for having alerted him to "this plot."

For al-Qadhdhafi,(?the) probe into the Ustica affairs had not uncovered the truth and never would because the United States had not cooperation with the investigation and "the mystery is in their hands."

It was off the coast of the Italian island of Ustica that an Italian airliner mysteriously crashed into the sea on June 27, 1980, with the loss of all aboard.

With regard to the Gulf crisis, al-Qadhdhafi said that he and Egyptian President Husni Mubarak concurred in the view that Iraq should withdraw from Kuwait, and the United States from Saudi Arabia, but that this proposal had been opposed by the other Gulf states.

"Mubarak is against a foreign presence in the area, and so am I," al-Qadhdhafi said. "The difference lies in the fact that Mubarak has armed forces that he can send into Saudi Arabia, while Libya does not."

Libya does not have a regular army but a people that is armed, was how al-Qadhdhafi made the distinction. Libyans are willing to defend their own country but not to go to the Gulf, he added.

As to the Palestinian question, al-Qadhdhafi said that it was impossible to claim secure borders for Israel. Libya supports the Palestinian people in their just cause, which has been recognized by the entire world, he said.

Al-Qadhdhafi said Libya was not involved in the divisions, mergers, splits and, in general, the plurality of Palestinian organizations, nor was it responsible for the instruments the Palestinians might choose as a means to carry on their struggle.

Asked what position Libya would take should war break out between Iraq and Israel, al-Qadhdhafi replied: "Our watchword is to show solidarity with one's brother, be he right or wrong."

Foreign Minister Discusses Gulf, Terrorism

PM3110124590 London AL-MAJALLAH in Arabic 24-30 Oct 90 p 38

[Report on interview with Ibrahim al-Bishari, Libyan secretary of the General People's Committee for External Liaison and International Cooperation, by Rif'at al-Najjar in Rome; date unspecified]

[Excerpts] The nine Mediterranean Arab and European states' foreign ministers conference on security and cooperation was the first task for Ibrahim al-Bishari, the

new Libyan secretary of the General People's Committee for External Liaison (foreign minister). On the sidelines of the conference called for by Italian Foreign Minister de Michelis AL-MAJALLAH interviewed Libyan minister al-Bishari and asked him several questions on the issues of the hour. [passage omitted]

On the crisis of the the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait the Libyan minister said that the Libyan position is clear and that Colonel Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi presented a peace initiative for a solution to the crisis. It included several points highlighting the Libyan position. It also included, first, an Iraqi withdrawal from Kuwait and the deployment of UN forces. This is in addition to withdrawing the foreign forces and, if needed, replacing them with Arab and Islamic forces.

Asked what would happened if Iraq continued to refuse to withdraw from Kuwait, the Libyan foreign minister emphasized that it is important to hold a dialogue with Iraq to persuade it to withdraw from Kuwait and that the Arabs prefer to use diplomatic means in resolving their problems. [passage omitted]

With regard to Libyan relations with the European states and the United States, Al-Bishari said "work is actually underway to develop our relations with the ECC states. As for the United States, we have no objection to establishing relations with it within the framework of mutual respect and noninterference in our national and pan-Arab options."

On Libyan links with terrorism and the West's allegations in that regard, Al-Bishari emphasized anew that Libya is against terrorism, hijacking of aircraft, and attacks on innocent people. It advocates supporting the peoples' struggle and is not responsible for the means used by others. He went on to say that never in the past or present has a Libyan been involved in any terrorist operation. That is merely rumors spread by the Zionists.

The Libyan minister told AL-MAJALLAH: "Some Western state officials have told me they are convinced that Libya has no links with terrorism but Zionist organs push its name to cover the crimes committed by them."

On the division over the Arab League's return to Cairo, Al-Bishari pointed out that there is an Arab agreement and it is final. There may be disagreement over the procedure, but not over the principle. [passage omitted]

Tunisia

INA Says Workers To Boycott U.S., UK Vessels

JN0111112390 Baghdad INA in Arabic 1025 GMT 1 Nov 90

[Text] Tunis, 1 Nov (INA)—The Tunisian workers have decided to boycott U.S. and British planes throughout the day, Thursday, to protest the occupation by the U.S. and British forces of Najd and Hejaz [Saudi Arabia] as a prelude for aggression against Iraq.

The Tunisian General Transportation League said in a statement today that the boycott will be effected as soon as U.S. or British ships or planes land or anchor at Tunisia's ports and airports.

It said that a British plane expected to land in Tunis today will be the first to be affected by the boycott decision, which was taken in pursuance of a decision by the Executive Bureau of the Arab Transportation Workers during its meeting here in September.

Bahrain

Foreign Minister Leaves for Tehran With Message

JN0111081390 Manama WAKH in Arabic 0540 GMT 31 Oct 90

[Excerpt] Manama, 31 Oct (WAKH)—Bahraini Foreign Minister Shaykh Muhammad Ibn-Mubarak Al Khalifah left for Tehran this morning on an official two-day visit to Iran in response to an invitation from Iranian Foreign Minister Dr. 'Ali Akbar Velayati.

WAKH has learned that during his visit to Tehran, the Bahraini foreign minister will hold talks on bilateral relations and ways to promote them in various fields. The talks will also touch on recent developments in the Gulf arena, the continued Iraqi occupation of Kuwait, efforts to secure the withdrawal of the Iraqi forces from the State of Kuwait, current Arab and international issues, and issues of mutual interest.

The Bahraini foreign minister will also convey a message from His Highness Shaykh 'Isa Ibn-Salman Al Khalifah, amir of the State of Bahrain, to Iranian President 'Ali Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani.

The visit is part of the continued coordination and consultations between Bahrain and Iran to promote spheres of cooperation between the two countries. [passage omitted]

Kuwait

Ambassador Reports Arrest of 10 Foreigners

AU3110151690 Vienna WIENER ZEITUNG in German 31 Oct 90 p 4

[Unattributed report: "Ten Foreigners Arrested in Kuwait"]

[Text] Vienna—On Monday [29 October] Iraqi troops encircled a residential district in Kuwait and arrested 10 foreigners who were hidden there by Kuwaitis. This was reported by 'Abd al-Hamid al-Awadi, Kuwaiti ambassador to Vienna, on Tuesday [30 October].

The foreigners are probably Europeans and Americans who found refuge with Kuwaiti families in the "Mushraf" [spelling as published] residential district after the Iraqi invasion.

In each apartment in which foreigners were hidden, the Iraqi soldiers arrested the father or eldest son, whose execution has to be expected, the ambassador said.

AL-HAWADITH Interviews Prime Minister

LD3110172490 London KUNA in Arabic 1144 GMT 31 Oct 90

[Interview with Shaykh Sa'ad al-'Abdallah al-Salim al-Sabah, Kuwaiti heir apparent and prime minister, by unidentified AL- HAWADITH correspondent; place and date not given]

[Excerpts] [dateline indistinct] AL-HAWADITH: They are talking about a settlement which would require Kuwait to give up Warbah and Bubiyan [islands] and the Al-Rumaylah oil field. What is your opinion?

Shaykh Sa'ad: I do not know why there is talk about Warbah, Bubiyan, and Al-Rumaylah. All of them are definitely not subject to bargaining. The minimum we would accept is the implementation of Security Council resolutions to the letter—the full return to a complete Kuwait without giving up an inch of territory. There is no scope for compromise in this respect and all the international forces are with us on this stand.

AL-HAWADITH: From the premise of this clear stand are we approaching certain war, or is peace still possible?

Shaykh Sa'ad: This is up to the president of the Iraqi regime. There are resolutions if he wants to implement them in adherence with international logic and law. We would then avoid confrontation.

AL-HAWADITH: What about the French proposal and what was concocted about it?

Shaykh Sa'ad: The proposal President Francois Mitterrand presented at the United Nations was explained by him and Foreign Minister Roland Dumas: France, which is a permanent member of the Security Council, is committed to the letter to the Council's resolutions. And during the recent meeting between Shaykh Jabir al-Ahmad al-Sabah, amir of Kuwait, and President Mitterrand, the French attitude was confirmed in the way that I pointed out. All the international forces are committed to this stand collectively.

What they are saying about democracy was manifested very clearly in the interests of legitimate rule. The proof was the people's conference in Jeddah and its consensus and the refusal of all Kuwaitis to deal with the occupiers. Demonstrations are being held despite the atmosphere of oppression by the resistance. Arab and international groups support the return of legitimacy to Kuwait, to the extent that not a single discordant voice was heard against the existing consensus.

Iraq's attempt to satisfy France by returning all French citizens came without a request and it has not changed the French attitude that Iraq did not grant France a favor; rather it granted it a natural right.

AL-HAWADITH: Do you think that the Kuwaiti opposition has lived up to the level of the situation?

Shaykh Sa'ad: Of course, it was up to the required level because of the principle that Kuwaitis are members of one family irrespective of how different their views might be. Everyone's main objective today is liberation and liberation and liberation. Following liberation, internal matters can be discussed. [passage omitted]

AL-HAWADITH: How are the Kuwaitis treated in the other Gulf countries and on what level?

Shaykh Sa'ad: They are receiving the best treatment. [passage omitted]

AL-HAWADITH: Has the Kuwaiti dinar lost its value or is it still the same as it was?

Shaykh Sa'ad: The decision to equate the Kuwaiti dinar with the Iraqi dinar is inconsequential. The value of our currency throughout the world is still the same. Forcing the Kuwaitis to deal with the iraqi dinar is a coercive decision like all the other measures taken by the Iraqis such as forcing the [Kuwaiti] nationals to carry Iraqi identity cards and to put Iraqi license plates on their cars.

AL-HAWADITH: What is the situation in Kuwait today?

Shaykh Sa'ad: As I understand from the brothers, regretful incidents have been taking place. There are acts of destruction, looting, burglaries and assaults, and other atrocities.

[Passage indistinct] AL-HAWADITH: Is it true that you told Iraqi Vice President 'Izzat Ibrahim during your meeting in Jeddah that you reject all their demands, that they cannot do anything against you because you will fly U.S. flags on all our institutions, just as we flew them on our ships during the Gulf war?

Shaykh Sa'ad: All this is false. What is true is that we agreed with 'Izzat Ibrahim to meet twice, once in Baghdad and once in Kuwait, the dialogue would have continued throughout these two meetings so that we could reach a settlement. Six hours later the treacherous Iraqi invasion of Kuwait began.

AL-HAWADITH: Was the atmosphere during your meeting with 'Izzat Ibrahim and the Iraqi delegation a normal one? Is it true that you refused to cancel their debts and what is the volume of these debts?

Shaykh Sa'ad: This is also false. The war debts approximate 20 billion U.S. dollars. We told them that to keep these debts in their records to take advantage of this situation, so that when other creditor states or institutions realized that they already had other debts they would reschedule the debts owed. If you were to cancel the bulk of these debts these states and institutions would force you to pay the debts immediately without rescheduling them. The entire minutes on the issues and debates of this meeting are available. Let us go back to these minutes so that everybody knows the whole truth.

AL-HAWADITH: Do you think that the aggression was premeditated or a result of what happened during the meeting?

Shaykh Sa'ad: What happened during the meeting did not warrant a war. Some 100,000 soldiers cannot be mobilized within 24 hours. It requires at least a week of preparation. Time will tell whether this aggression was premeditated or whether the Jeddah meeting was a pretext for the aggression especially as this meeting ended in a spirit of brotherhood that did not reflect any signs of tension.

AL-HAWADITH: Did you not notice the presence of Iraqi military concentrations on your borders?

Shaykh Sa'ad: We certainly did but we were told that they were yearly military exercises. They [Iraqi troops] asked our nationals for some drinking water and they were given it. The intention was probably to mislead us. The reason it did not occur to us that there was an invasion or the possibility of an invasion is that King Fahd and President Husni Mubarak had received reasuring pledges that Kuwait would come under no attack.

AL-HAWADITH: If the dispute between you and Iraq is settled will you ask for a high-level buffer force by making the two [King Fahd and President Mubarak] responsible for resolving the problem, especially since they have considerable influence as brothers?

Shaykh Sa'ad: Of course King Fahd and the Saudi Government are making sincere efforts worthy of thanks and the same goes for the other sister countries which believe that justice must eventually triumph and that we should not reward the usurpers by overlooking their actions and letting their crimes pass.

AL-HAWADITH: Does the Kuwaiti army have the expected level of training?

Shaykh Sa'ad: We must not talk about military matters but I believe that the Kuwaiti Army is strong, disciplined, and capable of carrying out its patriotic duties.

AL-HAWADITH: Are the Arab and friendly back-up forces at the expected level [of preparedness] for a confrontation and do they represent a first-class fighting power?

Shaykh Sa'ad: Inevitably, and their troops have fought wars and have practiced confrontation and they also have a superior potential.

And I have one remark to make: I am surprised by the hesitation of some Arab states and their attitude of indifference toward our crisis and by their silence on the destruction and wrecking of Kuwait aimed at wiping out its identity. I ask these states this question: Do you not recall what happened at the end of the Baghdad summit, when President Saddam Husayn insisted on adding one sentence saying that should there be a dispute between

two Arab states, this dispute should be resolved not by force but by dialogue and an exchange of views in order to reach an understanding?

AL-HAWADITH: How much money do you think the Iraqis have taken from Kuwait?

Shaykh Sa'ad: The total of what they have transferred out of Kuwait, including our assets in the Central Bank and the other banks and in the museum, in addition to the goods amounts to about $50 billion.

Shaykh Sa'ad said in this respect: 'Izzat Ibrahim told him [as received]: "You have freely disposed of the oil from al-Rumaylah and set up centers on Iraqi soil to commercialize it." He replied to him [as received]: "This is not true; come with me to see if there are any centers," but he did not answer. Shaykh Sa'ad then told Ibrahim, "Let us refer the case to the Arab League and let us comply with any decision it may take," but he refused.

Allegations of U.S.-Kuwaiti Plot Refuted

LD3110174290 London KUNA in Arabic 1516 GMT 31 Oct 90

[Excerpts] United Nations, 31 Oct (KUNA)—The Kuwaiti deputy prime minister and foreign minister, Shaykh Sabah al-Ahmad al-Jabir, has again refuted Iraqi allegations that Kuwait conspired with the United States against Iraq. Shaykh Sabah described these allegations as "fabrications and lies." The denial of the Kuwaiti official came in a letter he sent to UN Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar, in reply to the letter Tariq 'Aziz, Iraqi deputy prime minister and foreign minister, sent to the former, in which the allegations were made. The letter of the Iraqi minister was based on an alleged message that the director-general of the general directorate of Kuwait's security, Brigadier General Fahd Ahmad al- Fahd, supposedly sent to Kuwaiti Interior Minister Shaykh Salim al- Sabah.

Here follows the full text of the letter sent by Shaykh Sabah to the UN secretary general:

Your Excellency Javier Perez de Cuellar, UN secretary general. Greetings.

In reference to the message that the foreign minister of the sinful Iraqi regime asked to be distributed and adopted as a document of the UN General Assembly and Security Council, concerning an alleged message to the Kuwaiti interior minister from the director of the General Directorate of State Security, which the foreign minister of the Iraqi regime claims shows the conspiracy between the governments of Kuwait and the U.S. with the aim of undermining the situation in Iraq:

In this context, I need not clarify the fabrications and unfounded lies contained in this alleged letter. In addition to the linguistic terms contained in it, which were never used in Kuwait, there is a difference in the language of address between Kuwaiti officials—let alone the contents in the alleged letter, which any person with intelligence can easily see contradicts the values and principles in which Kuwait believes, and the principled political line it has always followed.

There is no doubt you must realize that the bestial practices carried out by the sinful Iraqi regime in my country, which have nothing to do with humanity, and the acts of plundering and robbery of all that can be carried from Kuwait, embody the reality of this regime and its danger to mankind. Perhaps you realize that this bloody regime did not and will not hesitate to use all legitimate and illegitimate means to achieve its objectives, in violation of all mankind's charters, customs, and heavenly messages. [passage omitted]

In view of all this, I find it necessary to write to your excellency to refute what was in the message of the foreign minister of the aggresive Iraqi regime, hoping that our letter will be distributed as an official document of the UN General Assembly and the Security Council. Please accept, Your Excellency, my most sincere greetings and appreciation.

[Signed] Sabah al-Ahmad al-Jabir

Saudi Arabia

King Fahd Meets Egyptian, Syrian Ministers

LD3110182690 Riyadh SPA in Arabic 1758 GMT 31 Oct 90

[Text] Jeddah, 31 October, SPA—The custodian of the two holy mosques, King Fahd Bin-'Abd-al-'Aziz al Sa'ud, received at his office today Egyptian Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister Dr. Ismat 'Abd-al-Majid; Syrian Foreign Minister Faruq al-Shar'; and the Egyptian Foreign Ministry first undersecretary and director of the Egyptian President's Office for Political Affairs Dr. Usamah al-Baz.

The meeting was attended by the foreign minister, his royal highness Prince Sa'ud al-Faysal, and Egypt's ambassador to the Kingdom, Sayyid Qasim al-Masri.

Dr. Ismat 'Abd-al-Majid, Faruq al-Shar', and Dr. Usamah al-Baz arrived in Jeddah earlier today. They were welcomed by His Royal Highness Prince Sa'ud al-Faysal; the head of protocol at the Foreign Ministry, ambassador 'Abd-al-Rahman al-Nuwaysir; and other officials.

Al-Qadhdhafi Criticized on Call for Hajj Boycott

LD0111113590 Riyadh SPA in Arabic 1030 GMT 1 Nov 90

[Text] Riyadh, 1 Nov (SPA)—A responsible source said the following in a statement to the SAUDI PRESS AGENCY today, Thursday:

REUTER News Agency last Tuesday quoted Libyan President [as received] Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi as saying that he has urged Muslims to boycott the holy

places in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia as long as U.S. forces are deployed there. It also quoted him as saying, in a meeting with the International Islamic Call League, "that, under the present circumstacnes, Muslims cannot perform the greater and lesser pilgrimages, and that there should be an Islamic boycott lasting a year or two as long as U.S. forces are present in Saudi Arabia."

The source added by saying: While very much regretting that such a call was made by an Arab Muslim ruler, we would like to reaffirm to all our Muslim brothers in every country that the two holy places are more than 1,500 kilometers from the multinational forces; that the two holy cities of Mecca and al-Madinah have specific borders that can only be crossed by Muslims; and that the holy places generally are in the hands of men who are faithful to their religion, anxious to protect their trust, and devoted to serving the two holy places. They are men who have protected the sanctity of Islamic holy places for tens of years, during which they made every effort to perform the duty, honored to them by God, of serving the pilgrims and the hundreds of thousands of visitors who come throughout the year to perform the lesser pilgrimage.

The source went on saying: We have said on several occasions that the brotherly and friendly forces have come to the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia at the request of the Saudi government to assist its forces in their defensive duties as a result of the aggression perpetrated by the ruler of Iraq against the brotherly state of Kuwait, and as a result of the mobilization of the Iraqi troops along the borders of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. These [foreign] forces will leave the land of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia as soon as these causes disappear.

The sources concluded the statement saying that we have heard some hired and spiteful quarters spread doubt and disinformation regarding the presence of these forces in Saudi Arabia. We did not pay any attention to all this because we are fully aware of the motives of these quarters, and their intention to spread chaos among Muslims.

For an Arab and Muslim ruler, who is committed before God and before his own people, to call on Muslims to boycott the pilgrimage is something that we did not expect at all. Undoubtedly, what he has said is a cause for astonishment and condemnation by all Muslims.

'Text' of CNN Interview With Saddam Husayn

JN3110150890 Baghdad INA in Arabic 1330 GMT 31 Oct 90

[Text] Baghdad, 31 Oct (INA)—President Saddam Husayn received last Monday, 29 October, a delegation of the American television network CNN.

The delegation conducted a television interview with the president on the latest developments in the region and the international efforts under way to reach a peaceful settlement to the issues of the region.

The following is the text of the president's interview:

[CNN] Before beginning the interview, I would like to say that we have many questions. Also, about 105 countries will be watching this interview on Monday at 1900, when it is a good time for television broadcasting. Can we ask your excellency, therefore, to be brief in your answers so that all the questions can be covered?

[Husayn] If you just desire to ask me a question and want me to give you any answer, then I can give you a brief answer. But if, through your questions, you want to get conversant with our views and analyses of various issues so that the viewers will benefit from them and in order to tell you if we are for or against any question, then I have to ask you to make your questions brief so as to give the viewers ample opportunity to receive full answers.

[CNN] I agree Mr. President, because your ideas should take prominence. Mr. President: We know that you are a very busy leader. We understand this and much appreciate your coming here and this meeting with Your Excellency. Mr. President: Are you willing to withdraw from Kuwait so as not to allow the embargo to destroy your economy and your standard of living?

[Husayn] If any embargo can possibly make the American people withdraw from Washington or the English people withdraw from any city of England—or, let us go back to the American people—let us cite, instead of Washington, the most recent city which was incorporated into America, Hawaii [as received]—if just an embargo or a decline in the standard of living can make the American, the French, or English people withdraw from part of their territory, then the Iraqi people, by the same token, can contemplate this issue.

[CNN] Then, Your Excellency's answer is no.

[Husayn] Of course, because until now many have expected that they can change the position of the Iraqi people in a shorter period, which they might think to be months. As for us, we make our calculations in terms of years. However, the issue is not about this or that part of Iraq. The issue is that of the Arab nation in its entirety. In fact, now following the occupation of U.S. forces and those allied with them of the land of Najd and Hejaz [Saudi Arabia], the issue has become of concern to all Muslims. You know that before August 2, the basic issue was about two points: The Palestine question and the Palestinian people who are suffering injustice and oppression; and social injustice and the unacceptable differences within the one nation between those who handled funds not in harmony with committed responsibility and the greater number of hungry people who can barely eke out a living. This is then the issue. Based on this analysis and vision, the Iraqi people are resisting blockade and aggression valiantly in the name of the Arab nation and in the name of all Muslims.

[CNN] Mr. President, three months after the beginning of the crisis, do you not have the feeling that things are heading toward confrontation?

[Husayn] We are working so that the confrontation will not take place. However, it seems that there are some who are pushing things toward confrontation. The people who are working on pushing things toward the military confrontation are Israel and its Zionist influences, Thatcher and her own complexes, and Bush—in that order. It seems to us that both Israel and Thatcher are pushing Bush toward the dangerous impasse.

[CNN] Mr. President, Soviet envoy Primakov came here, and he thinks that this was the last opportunity to find a peaceful settlement through negotiations and prevent the outbreak of war. However, Mr. Primakov has left feeling that nothing has been achieved. What did Mr. Primakov say to your excellency and what did you say to him?

[Husayn] If what you have said is a description that is based on information about Primakov's visit, then you have given your description. However, I do not share your view about this description. I have not been informed that Primakov has said that he thinks his visit to Iraq was the last opportunity for anything. However, I was informed about the statements made by Primakov's president; that is the Soviet Union's president, who stressed the importance of the search for means other than military confrontation to settle the region's issues. We have held a broad, deep, and useful dialogue with Mr. Primakov. We have briefed him on the fundamentals of our thinking regarding settling the region's issues.

[CNN] Mr. President, how do you think—or, what do you feel when you hear Bush equating you with Adolf Hitler?

[Husayn] This is his opinion. Anyway, we are used to respecting the other's opinions when they are fair. When they are not fair, he alone is responsible for his position. However, you, as citizens: Do you not think that Bush is making a grave mistake when he describes a head of a state, with which his country may deal, or to be more precise, at the time when he still has a diplomatic mission in Baghdad, with such a description, and then continues to deal politically and diplomatically with him? Do you not think that he is committing a mistake, which one may even say is more than grave, when he describes a head of state at this phase in such a way? Do you not think that he is closing the doors for dialogue

and peace with that head of state by making such characterizations at this stage?

[CNN] Your Excellency the President: You have addressed many questions to me. Please, understand my position as a commentator; I cannot answer such questions because I am a correspondent. I am not on the level of presidents.

[Husayn] I appreciate your position. However, it is our habit to forget the titles when we speak as individuals. Therefore, I made the assumption on this basis. This is my feeling and my assessment to you. You are at my standard regardless of the titles and descriptions. And because I like dialogues, I am expressing myself in the form of questions to the person facing me. I do not exactly mean that you answer the questions, but I express myself in the form of questions to the person in front of me.

[CNN] [This and the following additions, deletions, and variations are reported by Baghdad Domestic Service in Arabic at 1700 GMT on 31 October in a linkup with Baghdad Television Service and Baghdad Voice of the Masses in a similar report. Here Baghdad Radio deletes: Your Excellency the President: I want to go far in this point. You certainly saw the covers of some magazines calling you Baghdad's monster and Baghdad's butcher. You certainly see and feel what is behind these comparisons and offenses to Your Excellency. Would you speak to us in particular about the massacres and the killings said to be committed by you?] And is it possible to tell us who is Saddam Husayn?

[Husayn] Saddam Husayn is an Arab citizen. He is one of the faithful subjects of God who is struggling [mujahid] for the sake of justice. He rejects injustice and only fears the one and only God. In these descriptions, Saddam Husayn is deeply intermixed with the Arab nation, the people of Iraq, and all faithful believers in God's wide land.

[Baghdad Radio deletes: With regard to the talk about massacres, oppressions, or anything like this, you can answer those who speak about this by having your full freedom to tour Baghdad, Mosul, al-Sulaymaniyah, al-Basrah, and any place in Iraq.]

And if you want to know about the history of Saddam Husayn, it exists and is recorded since the time he entered his first elementary class. Some Iraqis recorded these events even before this date. They are available and you can acquaint yourself with them.

[CNN] Are there Jordanian soldiers training Iraqi soldiers on the use of the Hawk missiles seized by the Iraqi Army in Kuwait?

[Husayn] You know that the experience of the Iraqi Army is greater than that of all neighboring states. The only state that has an experience derived from a similar period of time is Iran. It is not difficult for one to be trained on a weapon when one has advanced experience in dealing with weapons. Let us move to other concepts of which you seem to be either unaware of so far, or else some of the politicians in the West do not want to acknowledge them. The Arabs are one nation, just as, for example, the United States is one nation. What I am saying is not my political view stemming from my job, but it is the view of the entire Arab people. Therefore, it is not a shame if we need to be trained by Yemenis or by the Egyptian Army. In any case, it is not a crime for the Iraqi soldier to be trained by a zealous Arab soldier.

[CNN] Mr. President, let us be accurate and clear regarding the question I posed to Your Excellency. The question is: Are Jordanians training your forces on the use of U.S. missiles? I am raising this question because you have said that it is not a crime or a shame for the Arabs to share and take part in military expertise. You have also said that the Arab world is one nation as the United States of America is one nation.

[Husayn] I understood the question and I answered it. However, do not expect me to answer your questions about technical issues—which are part of the war secrets—the way you want while I am facing a war.

[CNN] Mr. President, I have a question about the meeting Your Excellency had with U.S. Ambassador Glaspie on 26 July. It was clear that she did not understand what you had said. Had she reacted differently, would you have behaved contrary to what you did in Kuwait? Were you surprised by what happened after the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait?

[Husayn] What was it that Glaspie failed to understand? Tell me what you aim at precisely so that the viewer is able to understand; a viewer cannot understand riddles. Tell me specifically what it is you are asking about.

[CNN] In brief, do you believe that Glaspie understood what you had said at the meeting?

[Husayn] I believe I spoke clear Arabic, and my interpreter was smart and accurate in communicating the Arabic clarity to the U.S. ambassador in English. What we said was not a secret. We spoke about our concepts and assessment of the U.S. behavior toward us and toward the Arab nation. Our stand was clear.

[CNN] However, Mr. President, had she said something like: If you enter Kuwait, we will bring 200,000 soldiers and thousands of tanks to confront you—would your answer have been different?

[Husayn] I did not inform her that we would be entering Kuwait so that she could tell me that she would bring 200,000 [soldiers] or more or less. The important thing here is that we entered Kuwait, and you have brought over what you have and will be bringing more. What is it, then, that happened? You have expressed your stand as you see it, and we still believe in our stand as we see it. Also, can your ambassador make decisions at such a level in matters of this kind? And even if we assume that we had told one of your ambassadors that we would be going to Kuwait under the circumstances explained in the communique on sending troops at that point, could

an ambassador decide how he would confront our forces, unless the United States had previously decided to send troops to the Gulf region and the ambassador knew of this plan before 2 August, which is a different issue?

[CNN] Mr. President, there is an old saying that fear of war is worse than war itself because the world would face this crisis. Will there be a war?

[Husayn] There is nothing worse than war except for loss of dignity, freedom, sovereignty, honor, and peace. The United States will lose none of these if it moves away from war.

Therefore, if the officials in the United States fear war, they will triumph in all the great issues and principles. But if the Arabs and the Iraqis fear war and lose, as a result, all the values we talked about—honor, sovereignty, and present and future security—they will lose their existence. However, if the Americans move away from war, they will establish a strong basis for their morality.

A small state loses everything if it submits to threats. Iraq is a small state, but it does not feel that it is a small state, because it believes that God is great and believes in God, and that it is a part of a glorious and ancient nation.

[CNN] Mr. President, what has averted war and not caused it to occur during these past two and a half months, and are the factors that have postponed war during these two and a half months the same factors that will distance war during the coming stage?

[Husayn] The dear and Almighty God and the good people are the ones who have distanced war during the past period. And if God wills something, there is no stopping his will. We are all believers, and we all believe that what God wants us to do is not feel angry with him, irrespective of the color or the shape of the situation we are in.

[CNN] Mr. President, you have said you will not withdraw from Kuwait, while the UN Security Council has issued many resolutions. Your excellency knows the text of those resolutions, which denounce your action in Kuwait and demand withdrawal. Now, the two parties are facing each other there. What is the alternative? What will happen? You have said that if God willed that war, you would not object. If you do not move from your position and if the other party does not move from its position, how long can this go on?

[Husayn] We meant exactly what we said, irrespective of the vocabulary used in your question. You know that the same Security Council issued scores of resolutions regarding occupied Palestine and the Arab territories occupied by Israel, and not a single one was implemented. Hence, the Security Council resolutions have their own circumstances, although previous resolutions regarding several issues were more liberal than those resolutions. You know that the U.S. troops came to the region without a resolution from the UN Security Council. You also know that the United States has publicly pressured Japan, Italy, and Germany to contribute troops or funds.

Therefore, if the UN Security Council had the necessary freedom, it would have chosen a path different from that chosen by the United States of America. This would have been more fair, or let us say it would have been fairness itself, and would have rendered a greater service to peace. To prove this, after it has become aware of the danger which the United States is pushing it to, the Security Council has begun to show more patience in certain resolutions, although it is still under the U.S. hegemony. Iraq, as you know, has proposed a comprehensive plan to open a serious dialogue and to view the region's security through a comprehensive, not partial, perspective—that is, the 12 August initiative, which assumes that all standing problems in the region affect one another. Some of these problems have even triggered the others. For example, in our view, the Palestine question is the cause for all issues concerning the region's security. Unless there is a just solution to the Palestine question and unless the Palestinians return to their territories, free to do whatever they want and establish their independent state, security in the region will continue to be vulnerable to the changes and we will continue to face surprises. Therefore, we should not take one issue at a time, concentrate on it, and leave the other issues, some of which are substantial. Therefore, we either hold an international conference under the canopy of this general concept so that every party may present its viewpoint and what it thinks is right and reach a solution to all issues in the region in a package deal, or we leave the Arabs alone and provide the right climate for them to resolve their problems according to their interpretations. The Arab masses seriously understand our viewpoint and fully support it.

What we should do, then, is to put this question to Thatcher and Bush. We should ask them: Why do you not agree to considering all the pending issues and all the issues on which there have been Security Council resolutions that have not been applied until now? Moreover, you know that time is passing by. The second of August was three months ago already. We put forward this project two and a half months ago. Had the idea of discussing all issues been approved, we probably would have reached solutions to all of them.

[CNN] Your Excellency the President: I want a more precise explanation of this point. It is now 29 October. Now you are going to come to blows with over 400,000 soldiers in the Gulf. The weather is now changing in a way which makes any attack against you in favor of Western forces. Moreover, Soviet envoy Primakov returned to his country without giving any signal that your position has been made less inflexible on this crisis. Are you saying that your initiative is the only solution to this crisis, without any amendment being introduced to it?

[Husayn] The parties concerned have not told us that our initiative provokes the possibilities of war. The parties concerned still believe that they should dominate the globe and that they should force honorable, faithful people to surrender. We do not submit to such an evil approach. We can never submit to anyone who masses 400,000 soldiers. We seek the assistance of our people, our nation, and people of noble demeanor. Above all, we seek the assistance of God. It is certain that God—to whom is ascribed all majesty and perfection—scoffs at the lethal weapons, capabilities, and buildup of tyrants.

So, what determines right is not force, regardless of the shape of this force; right is determined by its very ethical and principled structure. We are fully confident and assured that right is on our side. Because we believe that right is on our side since justice is on our side, then we believe that God is on our side. And, when God is the supporter of a subject, no one can conquer this subject. Also, you have given preconceived conclusions about Mr. Primakov. You have to wait and listen to what he will say so as to base your question on this. We have conferred with Primakov in detail, and presented our ideas clearly, both on the issues of the region and the importance of linking their solutions and on the foreigners who are prevented from travelling. Therefore, we will give Mr. Primakov a chance to say what he wants, and then we will answer.

[CNN] Your Excellency the President: God did not invade Kuwait. Your forces invaded Kuwait. This is what touched off the crisis.

[Husayn] God did not send you troops directly to unify America. However, He did not oppose you when you unified America. America has invaded and sent forces to the House of God, Kaaba, and the tomb of Prophet Muhammad, on whom God's peace and blessing rests. Israel has invaded the second House of God; Israel has invaded Jerusalem, committed killings and bloodshed inside Jerusalem. Despite all this, the Security Council discusses hesitantly how to condemn Israeli actions.

If some Western politicians have been accustomed to some Arab officials' accepting dealing in double standards, this weak position has gone forever. Now, the Arabs not only do not accept double standards, but they advocate a single standard in human outlook and political conduct toward all matters, including the issues awaiting just solutions in the region, primarily the Palestine question. Israel, and not Iraq, is the one against which armies should be sent.

[CNN] Your Excellency the President: Do you believe that President Bush and the other leaders facing you in this crisis fear using military force to drive you out of Kuwait?

[Husayn] It is not a matter of an official's fear or lack of fear, or individual courage or lack of courage. The official must look at the use of force on the basis of justice or injustice. What would justice gain, for example, by the return of the corrupt Kuwaiti oil shaykhs to positions of corruption, collecting money, exploitation, and exhausting of humanity? Is this not one of the slogans of those who came with their armies to the region?

The Americans might say that you entered Kuwait by force and that the Provisional Kuwaiti Government which achieved unity with you was your creation. I do not want to discuss this opinion. However, I want to say: Are the oil shaykhs not made by Britain? And did they become the leaders of Kuwait in a democratic way or were they brought by Britain? Why does America accept rulers who were brought by colonialism to make them rulers of a land that was separated from Iraq and not accept the decision of good Kuwaitis, who are more honorable than those rulers, when they decided on unity with Iraq?

[CNN] But, Your Excellency the President, I do not believe that my colleague has received the answer he was eager to receive. Do you believe that the Western leaders and President Bush fear the use of military force? And do you believe that time is on your side?

[Husayn] I clearly said that the criteria of an official in using military force are not personal ones that are based on individual fear or reassurance. As I believe, I assume that the basis of any decision made by an official is to ask the following questions and answer them: Which decisions are right and which decisions are wrong? Which decisions would achieve the objectives that benefit the people and humanity, and which decisions would inflict damage on his people and on humanity?

[CNN] Mr. President, if you involve your people in another war, will these people forgive you for that?

[Husayn] We have not and will not involve our people in a war. We are only clarifying right and wrong for our people.

You—I mean the Americans—have employed all means of deception and largely confused information with the aim of affecting the morale and position of our people. You are witnessing the clear position of our people. It is against falsehood and for right regardless of the ensuing consequences. Our people are confident of victory in all cases.

Now let us ask: Will the American people forgive Bush and will the British people forgive Thatcher if they involve their peoples in a war?

We are confronting an aggression and forces coming from overseas to attack us. They have insulted our holy places and they are planning for an aggression on Iraq. Is it fair that matters are arranged this way; that is, either Iraq abandons its fair and correct position or a war will be launched against it? Therefore, if those who want to commit an aggression against Iraq do so, they will be the losers. And if the occupation armies stay in the land of Najd and Hejaz [Saudi Arabia], their states and Fahd will lose. He will lose a great deal of his esteem, and he may even lose his seat. This is because one who has these large forces on his land must afterward lose his free

decisionmaking. He who loses his free decisionmaking can be replaced by the occupying armies or by his own people, who are going to feel insulted. As for us, we are part of our people and in fact part of our entire nation and of all good ones, including the good ones in Britain and the United States who have begun to notice the right position and the right decision.

[Baghdad Radio adds: [CNN] Do you play cards, sir?

[Husayn] What do you mean by cards? Gambling? If I were a gambler, I would by now have been one of Bush's men.]

[CNN] It seems that you are taking chances in this regard. After 22 years as a leader and 11 years as a president, it seems that you are taking the risk of losing what you have built during that period, either slowly or quickly. As an observer, I say you have brought a state to maturity. After over 20 years in this position, including 11 years as the president of this state, and after building all that, it seems that you are taking risks. And the cards in your hand are not trump cards?

[Husayn] Absolutely. I agree with you that what we have in our hands are not gambling cards. However, it is the people, nation, right, and honorable duty that are in our conscience. We have built this lofty state, and we want it to remain so. We have built it for right and we want it to defend right, not to yield before injustice.

Those who fear falsehood are the ones who approach falsehood. However, those who endeavor for the sake of right do not fear falsehood, because they do not plan how much illegal money they will put in their pockets, but they plan for how much they will win from moving closer to God, and from what their people and history will think of them and of every step they take. There is a group of cardplayers in the Arab homeland. They stand alongside falsehood. The officials who do not play cards stand alongside truth.

I want to say something, which might be useful for politicians or ordinary citizens, depending on their visions and ability to understand what I am going to say: Why is it supposed that an act of aggression will be successful? Those concerned should ask themselves one question: What will be next if a military action, when it takes place, fails? Afterward, they should make their decision.

[CNN] Mr. President, if military action takes place and fails, what do you think will happen?

[Baghdad Radio adds: [CNN] I noticed, Mr. President, that you smiled when you said that you do not play cards as is the case with Bush or others....

[Husayn, interrupting] I did not say as is the case with Bush or anyone else.

[CNN] You said that if you played cards, you would have become a friend of Bush and Thatcher.

[Husayn] And what I meant is that those who play cards while leading their countries have abandoned many of their values to become virtually prone to the possibility of falling into the traps of the occupiers, invaders, and tyrants, and not among the honorable people who appreciate their responsibility when they shoulder it. Some of the things they must evaluate is gambling, especially for an official, but we as believers and Muslims believe that gambling is prohibited for us, let alone when the issue pertains to an official at the head of a state level. This is what I am talking about.]

[Baghdad Radio deletes: [Husayn] If military action takes place—regardless of the results—many things, which those who are planning to do evil may not have considered well enough, will happen.]

[CNN] The other part of the question is: You love fishing, and so does President Bush. What if you two go out fishing and try to resolve the problem?

[Husayn] If President Bush decides that we should go fishing together and debate things, then we have no objection to discussing this idea when it is proposed to us. We do not have any prior sensitivity or objection toward meeting with anyone if that meeting is based on dialogue and aimed at resolving problems. I should have brought someone to help me so that the interview would be fair and we would be two against two [referring to the fact that he is being interviewed by two CNN reporters]. But, never mind. The interpreters are also cooperating with each other.

[CNN] Mr. President, as I understand it—and as stipulated in your 12 August initiative—to you, dialogue means sitting at the negotiations table and explaining what you believe in, such as your right to keep Kuwait and settling the other problems in the region. What would you say, what would you say about Kuwait as long as you insist there will be no withdrawal? And, how can there be dialogue when you insist there will be no withdrawal, while the other party insists on your withdrawal?

[Husayn] If the other party is wrong, we cannot be held responsible if they insist on a wrong position. We say this simply, because no one party should set prior conditions to the other party if dialogue is to be adopted as means to resolve the matter. We have not shown disrespect for the opinion of the others, even when their opinions conflict with ours. For example, we have not told the U.S. President that we will send our armies to occupy the United States when he said Iraq must leave Kuwait. Neither have we said that if Israel does not withdraw from Palestine, we will send our armies to occupy England. We believe that it is in the nature of things that people in different regimes and in different places have different opinions, especially over complicated issues like the ones we are talking about. However, we say that complicated issues like these can only be resolved through dialogue and by providing the appropriate climate for dialogue and not by sending armies, occupying the sacred places, and threatening war. Therefore, when dialogue takes place, we will express our opinion on all the standing issues which are looking for solutions, and we will hear the American, Soviet, and English viewpoints. We will also hear the viewpoints of Yasir 'Arafat and the others, whose issues have not been resolved

because the UN Security Council resolutions were not implemented or because each issue has special circumstances resulting from its own background.

[CNN] Mr. President, you have released the hostages; yet, on the other hand, you are starving the diplomats in the British, French, and U.S. Embassies. Why do you appear with these two faces before the rest of the world?

[Husayn] In God's name, we hope that you have not been affected by the contagion of some Western politicians who talk about humanity while being so remote from it. When a population of 18 million is subjected to starvation, this is not considered an inhuman act. But when food is stopped from reaching people who are rebelling against the law of the country they are in, this is called an inhuman act. Are these not two contradictory faces?

Therefore, when we stop food from getting to them, the objective is not to starve them, but not to give them more days in which they can strengthen themselves and rebel against the law of the country where they are diplomats. We are therefore forced to arrest them, as is our right, while the United States stops milk from reaching the children and medicine from those who need it. Whoever does not have a supply of milk and medicine will die.

Therefore, this is the action that should be described as inhuman and contradicting all divine laws, and not the act of stopping supplies from reaching people who refuse to abide by the law, so that we do not supply them time or are forced to enter the homes where they are holding out to arrest them.

They are now present in places called embassies. The Iraqi Government issued a clear decision, which is that all diplomatic missions which were in what was formerly called the State of Kuwait should leave the places they are in and travel to their countries or join their missions in Baghdad. Some of these are the French, British, and U.S. Embassies, who have so far not abided by this decision. So, we cut off supplies from them so that they would adhere to the decision after their supplies run out. However, as a government, rather than practice our natural right to arrest them, we practiced the right of preventing supplies from reaching them, so that they will leave without being arrested.

[Baghdad Radio: preceding paragraph heard only in English spoken by Saddam Husayn's translator; Saddam's voice in Arabic omitted]

[CNN] Mr. President, you received two visitors this week, the Jordanian prime minister and Soviet envoy Primakov. Could you possibly give us some information or details about what took place during these two meetings and your feelings regarding what happened with these two officials? And was anything achieved during these two meetings?

[Husayn] The Jordanians are our brothers; therefore, whenever we meet with them, many constructive humanitarian and political issues are realized. When we meet with the brothers, it is also natural to discuss bilateral issues, and issues of mutual interest and of interest to the whole Arab nation. As for Mr. Primakov, I have already discussed this subject, I think; we held talks and a constructive dialogue, and we believe that dialogue and direct meetings between Iraq and international sides can only be beneficial to humanity.

[CNN] Should I add to this question and say: Has anything been accomplished during the meeting with Mr. Primakov, and are you expecting to accomplish something else from other meetings, perhaps with Mr. Primakov again?

[Husayn] I said that meetings are always beneficial. Yes, some results were realized.

[CNN] Is this the end of talks with Mr. Primakov, or is it merely the beginning of other talks, or have talks with Primakov not ended at this point and is this a part of the course?

[Husayn] Dialogue continues.

[CNN] Is it possible to give us something about what took place at this meeting?

[Husayn] Whenever Mr. Primakov makes a statement on what took place you will know what took place, or, let us say, part of what took place between the two countries. This is because statements cannot be made on everything that is discussed. The important thing is that the dialogue always provides an opportunity for peace as an alternative to war or to the possibilities of war. We shared this spirit with Mr. Primakov.

[CNN] Don't you think that this [interview] has taken a long time?

[Husayn] I was not annoyed by your questions. On the contrary, I am grateful to you—even in the provocative questions—so that the citizens will be acquainted with the truth as it is. However, I want to point at Bush's advice when I addressed the American people for an hour and 16-18 minutes. I believe he said that I would find nobody awake at the end of my speech. So, I fear that the long speech might make some listeners bored if we accept Bush's advice.

[CNN] I want to ask the last two questions, if you don't mind.

[Husayn] Please.

[CNN] What makes you think that holding or placing hostages at strategic and sensitive targets will prevent the use of force and provide you with protection?

[Husayn] This is one of the approaches. And despite this, yesterday, we presented practical proposals to Mr. Primakov with regard to those who are not allowed to travel.

[CNN] Your Excellency the President: In the name of my colleague and on behalf of the CNN Television, we thank you very much for giving us this opportunity that has lasted approximately two hours and which will be reduced to approximately one hour after taking out the translation from it. We know that you are busy and have

many commitments. Therefore, we appreciate the opportunity you granted us. Thank you very much.

[Husayn] I am very pleased to meet with you and very grateful to you because you gave me the opportunity—on behalf of the Iraqis and the good people from the sons of this nation—to say our viewpoint vis-a-vis the issues you presented to us. Thank you very much.

[CNN] Your Excellency the President: You are saying that you are one against two. You, however, are five persons in one—you are the commander in chief of the Armed Forces, the president, the prime minister, and the secretary general of the Arab Socialist Ba'th Party. You have five [as received] titles, while we are just two.

[Husayn] If we take Mr. Bush, we will find that he is a member of his party; the head of state; he has many hobbies in which he spends his time; he directly chairs a group of ministers—this is equivalent to the post of prime minister in our country; he is the supreme commander of the U.S. Armed Forces; and he might have been the president of a company before he became the president of the state, and certainly he looks after this company and takes care of its affairs in one way or another. And these are five positions also.

[CNN] Thank you, Your Excellency the President.

Jordan Reports Iraqi Forces on 'Maximum' Alert

JN3110214990 Amman Jordan Television Network in Arabic 2100 GMT 31 Oct 90

[Text] Latif Nusayyif Jasim, Iraqi information minister, has said that war might break out at any moment and that the Iraqi Forces and Popular Army have been put on the maximum state of alert.

Speaking at a news conference he held tonight in Baghdad, the Iraqi information minister asserted that there are many signs that the United States is about to make a decision concerning war.

Jasim added that Iraq is not afraid because its morale is high. He also asserted that Iraq will not be the one to start war, indicating that U.S. forces and those allied with them have been conducting large-scale maneuvers in the area.

The statement of the Iraqi minister came amid a deliberate U.S. escalation by U.S. President George Bush and the staff of his administration to prepare U.S. and world public opinion for an imminent war.

Missions To Issue Visas to 'Guests' Families

JN0111094890 Baghdad INA in Arabic 0830 GMT 1 Nov 90

[Text] Baghdad, 1 Nov (INA)—INA has learned that the Foreign Ministry has instructed Iraqi missions to issue entry visas to the families of foreigners hosted at vital installations in Iraq that wish to visit them at Christmas and New Year's.

A Foreign Ministry spokesman announced yesterday that families of foreign guests at the Iraqi vital installations can visit them on this occasion.

Six Swedish Nationals Leave Baghdad 31 Oct

JN3110165190 Baghdad INA in Arabic 1640 GMT 31 Oct 90

[Text] Baghdad, 31 Oct (INA)—In implementation of President Saddam Husayn's order to allow a number of Swedish nationals who are guests of the people of Iraq to leave or stay in Iraq as they wish, six elderly Swedish citizens left Baghdad this evening.

In statements to the IRAQI NEWS AGENCY correspondent, the Swedish guests expressed gratitude for the good hospitality and full care they received from the Iraqi people during their stay.

They said President Saddam Husayn's initiative to allow them to leave or stay in Iraq reflects the humanitarian values which his excellency has. It also reflects Iraq's good intentions to achieve security and peace in the region and the entire world, they added.

Swedish Parliamentary Delegation Departs

JN0111125090 Baghdad INA in Arabic 2102 GMT 31 Oct 90

[Text] Baghdad, 31 Oct (INA)—The Swedish parliamentary delegation under Everett Stevenson, member of the Swedish Parliament, representative of the Social Democratic Labor Party, and head of the Swedish-Palestinian Friendship Society, left Baghdad today following a visit of several days to Iraq.

In a statement to the IRAQI NEWS AGENCY, the Swedish member of Parliament affirmed that President Saddam Husayn's initiative of 12 August has opened the door wide for comprehensive and just solutions to the region's problems. He said the initiative affirms Iraq's readiness to solve these problems through dialogue and peaceful means.

He indicated that the presence of foreign military forces on Arab land further exacerbates the situation and increases the risks of a destructive war in the region.

The delegation was seen off at the airport by a number of officials from the Iraqi Friendship, Peace, and Solidarity Organization.

Assembly Approves National Hostages' Release

AU3010095090 Sofia BTA in English 2148 GMT 29 Oct 90

[Text] Baghdad, 29 Oct (BTA)—The parliament of Iraq has approved President Saddam Husayn's proposal to let the 700 Bulgarians who are in Iraq to go back to Bulgaria, REUTER announced from Baghdad.

Minister Expresses 'Surprise' Over Boycott

LD2910101390 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0957 GMT 29 Oct 90

[Text] Baghdad, 29 Oct (TANJUG)—"We are very much surprised at the fact that Yugoslavia has joined the drive to starve and boycott the Iraqi people", Iraqi Minister of Culture and Information Latif Nusayyif Jasim said in an interview to the Yugoslav Yutel Television.

Minister Jasim said the surprise was all the greater as Yugoslavia was itself in an exceptionally difficult situation.

"We have oil which you might have had at very low price. Apart from which, Iraq owes Yugoslavia a lot of money. We have given compensation to many countries, while Yugoslavia has been given none", Jasim stressed.

The Iraqi minister expressed the hope that the Yugoslav side would soon send signals that things in mutual relations were changing for the better.

"We are waiting for the changes", Jasim said in conclusion.

Cargo Plane To Carry Swiss Medicine Home

JN3110174590 Baghdad INA in Arabic 1621 GMT 31 Oct 90

[Text] Geneva, 31 Oct (INA)—The competent Swiss authorities are preparing to place on board an Iraqi cargo plane tomorrow morning some 30 tonnes of Swiss medicines for Iraq.

The IRAQI NEWS AGENCY correspondent in Geneva said that the Swiss authorities will welcome the Iraqi plane, a Boeing 707, at Geneva airport to transport the medical supplies, whose cost is estimated at 17 million Swiss Francs, or $13 million.

The Swiss Government announced on 28 September that it agrees to dispatch medical supplies to Iraq for humanitarian reasons, and said that these medical supplies do not conflict with the UN embargo resolution on Iraq.

The correspondent added that 10 days after this announcement, specifically on 8 October, a spokesman for the Swiss Ministry of Economy stated that many Swiss companies have applied to dispatch medicines to Iraq worth 33 million Swiss Francs.

Ministry Spokesman Reacts to Bush, Baker Remarks

JN3110205190 Baghdad INA in Arabic 2005 GMT 31 Oct 90

[Text] Baghdad, 31 Oct (INA)—The Foreign Ministry has refuted the statements made today by U.S. President George Bush, White House official spokesman Marlin Fitzwater, and U.S. Secretary of State James Baker.

An official Foreign Ministry spokesman said tonight that it is obvious that the U.S. Administration is at this time deliberately seeking to escalate the situation in the region by making up pretexts and lies as a prelude to military aggression on Iraq.

The spokesman went on to say: Both of them have claimed that U.S. citizens accommodated at strategic sites in Iraq are being mistreated.

The official spokesman of the Iraqi Foreign Ministry added: We unequivocally affirm that all foreign nationals who have been hosted in the country and accommodated at these sites, including the Americans, enjoy full treatment in terms of residence, food, and medical care, that their situation is natural, and that they are well treated.

The spokesman added: The best evidence of this is the large number of foreign nationals who were allowed to leave after they were prevented from travel, including Americans, who had lived under the same circumstances and who noted the good treatment they had received during their stay.

The official spokesman also noted the claims of Baker and Fitzwater to the effect that the U.S. Embassy in Baghdad and the former U.S. Embassy in the governorate of Kuwait are in danger. He said the Foreign Ministry unequivocally affirms that the safety of these institutions in terms of personnel and buildings is totally guaranteed and that there is nothing that could constitute a danger to them. He also noted that the U.S. mission in Baghdad carries out its usual activities normally, and that it enjoys all diplomatic privileges and immunities acknowledged worldwide.

The Iraqi Foreign Ministry spokesman asserted that this campaign of lies and claims, which lacks any supporting evidence, expresses the aggressive intentions we warned about earlier. We hold the United States responsible for any aggressive actions it might think of resorting to. Iraq, as the president expressed yesterday during his meeting with the members of the General Command of the Armed Forces, has taken all measures to face U.S. aggression and answer it with all that is required. The evildoers will suffer an ignominious defeat if they carry out their heinous crime, the spokesman added.

It is to be noted that a Foreign Ministry spokesman had earlier announced that the families of foreign guests who are hosted in vital installations in Iraq can visit them on the occasion of Christmas festivities and the New Year.

The spokesman clarified that members of these families can refer to Iraqi embassies to obtain an entry visa to Iraq.

[Dated] Baghdad 12 Rabi' Awwal 1411 Hegira, corresponding to 31 October 1990.

Editorial Predicts 'Doomsday War' for U.S.

JN0111115790 Baghdad INA in English 1115 GMT 1 Nov 90

[Text] Baghdad, Nov. 1, INA—The U.S. and its allies are again on a war propaganda offensive, threatening an imminent attack on Iraq with an apparent goal of intimidating the Arab country.

BAGHDAD OBSERVER has editorialised that for the Iraqis, an American aggression will not be a surprise as they have always been on the alert against such an eventuality. In fact, it would be sheer ignorance to presume that Baghdad is unaware of such hostile plans. One does not need an extraordinary talent to conclude that about 400,000 American and allied troops are deployed in the Arab Gulf just for the fun of it. Rather, they are there to implement a plan which has been drawn long before the Gulf crisis erupted. The apparent aims of such a huge military buildup is to occupy Arab oilfields, which they have already done, and to attack, or at least weaken, Iraq which they have yet to do.

One can assume that the present huge buildup cannot be an offshoot of a "midsummer night dream" by President George Bush. The plan for the buildup must have taken, at least, months to complete. Hence, claims that U.S. troops are in the Gulf to "fend off an Iraqi attack against Saudi Arabia" and to "restore legitimacy to Kuwait" are but misleading propaganda ploy to cover up the aggression against the Arabs and Iraq.

Therefore, the Arabs are now practically victims of a defacto American occupation and aggression, a fact which entitles them to resistance rights under the international law and the U.N. Charter.

Iraq is now left with the only option of preparing itself to defend its territory. Towards this aim, the Iraqis have mustered their potentialities to see to it that the U.S. aggression should not pay. With a long experience in war tactics and science, the Iraqis have the upper hand. What adds to Iraqis' credit is that, unlike the Americans, the people of this country are accustomed to living under harsh war conditions.

The best way to solve the Gulf crisis, no doubt, is through peaceful means and diplomacy. So far, the U.S. has not shown interest in both. Hardheaded Bush and U.S. generals appear to be so ignorant that they think Iraq would collapse right from the first gunshot. This is a hallucination, rather a nightmare as far as the American people are concerned. When and if the war erupts in the Gulf, American officials would find it hard to match up with the speed of successive daily casualties their troops are liable to suffer. It will most probably be the doomsday war for the Americans.

Paper Views U.S. Stand on Legitimacy

JN2810062790 Baghdad INA in English 1110 GMT 27 Oct 90

[Text] Baghdad, Oct 27, INA—AL-IRAQ daily confirmed that the game of international legitimacy frightens only the weak and those who deny their peoples the right to freedom and independence.

In a commentary published today, the daily said that the presence of this word in certain issues and its absence in others could only express the political hypocrisy practised by the United States and its ridiculing of human consciousness and international laws and conventions.

It pointed out that this game confined the so-called new international system to a sole international player, namely the White House which started to act as a dominant colonialist power in the world, as part of a view dwarfing all members of this system.

The daily went on saying that by exposing a put-up conspiracy against our people and bringing back to light the issue of Palestine, Iraq had not defied international legitimacy, but rather, it tried to give it a new image to differentiate beween right and wrong and what is legitimate and what is not.

It concluded that Iraq had provided the world with a rare opportunity to resort to the balance of justice and reconsidered by word and deed ideals of international legitimacy and will, far from war and destruction.

U.S., Bush Accused of Opposing Peace

JN0111073090 Baghdad INA in English 1057 GMT 31 Oct 90

[Text] Baghdad, Oct. 31, INA—THE BAGHDAD OBSERVER said here today that the United States has stood in the face of all bids to save the region the ravages of war. In fact, the Bush Administration is turning a blind eye to peace efforts because it persists in harbouring intentions of aggression against Iraq. The U.S. promoted anti-Iraq sentiment long before the current crisis in the Gulf started. It led a vicious campaign against Iraq, working in coordination with its allies and satellite regimes in the Arab region, especially Israel and the deposed al-Sabah family in Kuwait.

It added that the United States led a smear campaign against Iraq aimed at depriving it of a legitimate right to acquire advanced technology and a military deterrent that would fend off any Israeli aggression. Israel had earlier committed a flagrant aggression against Iraq when it attacked the country's nuclear facilities, which were designed for peaceful purposes.

The Iraqi daily added that to further weaken Iraq, the U.S. Administration instructed the former regime in Kuwait to play a subversive role designed to cripple Iraq's post-war economy and grab Iraqi territory, particularly in the oil-rich border area.

The U.S. is pushing for military action against Iraq while many parties are working for a peaceful settlement to the Gulf issue. These parties include big powers like the Soviet Union and France, it pointed out.

The daily further said that there are also calls for peace from the American people themselves and many countries in Europe and other parts of the world. Add to this that Arabs everywhere are for peace because they are aware that war would only serve their enemies', U.S. and Israel interests.

Regrettably, United Nations bodies have turned into instruments in the hands of imperialist powers which seek to give international legitimacy to their warmongering policy. And Iraq has always been keen on

preserving the U.N. prestige as a peacemaker and not an exponent of war, it concluded.

AL-THAWRAH Rejects Further Resolutions

JN2910105690 Baghdad INA in Arabic 0915 GMT 29 Oct 90

[Text] Baghdad, 29 Oct (INA)—AL-THAWRAH has stressed that the American practices inside the Security Council constitute total confiscation of the international legitimacy and blatant disregard of the simplest criteria of dealing among countries. In an article today under the headline "The Security Council and American Hegemony," AL-THAWRAH says: The shameful way in which the Security Council submits to American hegemony is an international scandal we reject, together with all parties that are interested in maintaining the neutral and responsible nature of the Council—which is the cornerstone of the task which the United Nations is supposed to carry out in the interest of mankind.

AL-THAWRAH notes the reports on the deliberations taking place in the Security Council corridors to issue a new hostile resolution against Iraq and the real international legitimacy. This new resolution will be added to the series of unjust resolutions which America forced the Council to adopt. The paper asks: If America proposes, drafts, and prepares the final copy of the resolution, what will be the work of the rest of the members?

AL-THAWRAH affirms that such resolutions that carry the American identity from beginning to end are invalid and will have no weight in any balance.

Preparations for 'Crucial Battle'

JN3110093290 Baghdad INA in Arabic 0720 GMT 31 Oct 90

[Text] Baghdad, 31 Oct (INA)—The newspaper AL-THAWRAH has stressed that Iraq is fully prepared for fighting the crucial battle, the Arabs' battle for the ultimate salvation from their enemies.

In its editorial today, the paper says: When Iraq refuses to submit to the evil will and makes a decision to fight to repulse the aggression, it knows war and its magnitude, and it has a special ability to accurately determine differences among the enemies' methods, their means of aggression, and the nature of their plans and schemes.

It adds: Iraq has completed its preparations and come to the peak of its vigilance and caution regarding the aggressive intentions, and it is armed with faith and with all that God has bestowed on it in terms of might and capability.

The paper stresses that since 2 August, developments have proved that Iraq cannot be intimidated by the American and colonialist threats, fleets, and armies. Iraq's will has never shaken, but has become stronger and more faithful. Moreover, Iraq is a fortress surrounded by the Arab nation, which feels its awakening and its position, and which believes that Iraq represents its unbreakable will. It has declared that it will never spare any of the imperialist American enemy's supporters without burning them with the fire of anger should fighting break out.

The paper adds: Iraq knows that Bush, his administration, and military and intelligence institutions are devoted to aggression against it, and that they do not respond to the peoples' will or to the growing rejection of their aggressive schemes by political parties in the world.

Concluding, the paper says: All that is in Iraq, in terms of men, weapons, experience, and ability to fight, is preparing to inflict an inevitable catastrophe on the aggressors, including the American enemy, its armies, and its ally Thatcher, the last remnant of old colonialism; the fascist Zionist entity; and the agent trash such as the reckless Husni and the betrayer of the two holy mosques, Fahd.

Industrial Alternatives Urged

JN3010134990 Baghdad INA in Arabic 1054 GMT 30 Oct 90

[Text] Baghdad, 30 Oct (INA)—The newspaper AL-THAWRAH has stressed that the decision made by the heroic military industrialization men to manufacture some solvents needed to produce oil byproducts from local raw materials is part of several and varied surprises that they have prepared and are preparing to confront the Americans, Zionists, and their satellites.

In an article today, the paper says: This achievement has paved the way for a new, sound and firm approach for the Iraqi economy. This approach is aimed at reducing reliance on the imported raw materials used in national industry, expanding the exploitation of all that is local, and searching for national alternatives that can substitute for all that is dispensable at this stage and in the future.

The paper adds: The successes that have been made in the economic field under the circumstances of the blockade against Iraq, which constitute one of the battlefields, and the results of these successes are impressive victories that indicate Iraq's true strength and its possession of renewable capabilities and potentials.

The paper calls for making this pioneering example provided by the heroic men of military industrialization a basic pillar and a starting point to entrench this new stage of building the Iraqi economy based on growing reliance on local raw materials. It notes the prospects that are open for Iraqi scientists and experts to use their capabilities and potential to search for effective alternatives to break the enemy blockade.

Concluding, the paper says: The Iraqi mind, which is now on a maximum state of alert and which is making unique and great achievements in all fields and in all walks of life, is proving that it has the creativity that can secure the material and spiritual pillars that will enable

Iraq to guarantee full and comprehensive victory in any future battle with the American infidels in the land of Najd and Hejaz [Saudi Arabia] and the Arabian Gulf.

'Aziz, PLO's 'Abd-Rabbuh Discuss Arab Issues

JN3110155490 Baghdad Domestic Service in Arabic 1500 GMT 31 Oct 90

[Text] Tariq 'Aziz, deputy prime minister and foreign minister, today received Mr. Yasir 'Abd-Rabbuh, member of the PLO Executive Committee and deputy secretary general of the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine, and the accompanying delegation.

During the meeting, they reviewed developments of the Palestine question and Arab events and affirmed the need for rallying all resources to confront the U.S. invasion of the region and the criminal practices of the Zionist enemy against the valiant people of Palestine.

The meeting was attended by the director of the Arab Department at the Foreign Ministry.

Opposition Party Formed; Statement Issued

LD3010145990 Riyadh SPA in Arabic 1400 GMT 30 Oct 90

[Excerpts] London, 30 Oct (SPA)—The president of the new Iraqi Ummah Party, Sa'd Salih Jabr, has affirmed the Iraqi people's rejection of Saddam Husayn's transgressions both inside and outside Iraq and particularly after the treacherous aggression on Kuwait.

In a press statement made in London today, Sa'd Salih Jabr said that the Iraqi Army is filled with sorrow and pain for the fate of Iraq and its people after they became a source of hatred for the whole world, a thing which neither the people nor the Army will accept.

He added that Saddam is going through a real crisis and that the best proof of his fear of the Army's wrath is the fact that he is constantly going into hiding, moving from one shelter to another, and refusing to appear in public except on very brief occasions so that people will not say that he is in hiding. [passage omitted]

The party leader affirmed that Saddam is determined to produce nuclear warheads and biological weapons which will bring devastation and ruin to Iraq and its people, and consequently Saddam is a source of threat not only to Iraq, the Arabs, and the Muslims, but also to the whole world. [passage omitted]

Referring to the increasing liquidation of commanders and men of the Iraqi Army, he said that these liquidations will continue as long as Saddam remains as head of state. He affirmed that Saddam's purpose behind these liquidations is to frighten the Armed Forces against taking any action against him.

He said that the latest of these acts was the dismissal of the chief of staff of the Iraqi Army, 'Abd al-Karim al-Khazraji, who is reported to have been removed from his post and placed under house arrest. [passage omitted]

Speaking of the aim of his party, he said that the new Ummah Party is an independent political movement which believes in human rights and the guaranteeing of individual and social freedom and respect for the sovereignty of countries neighboring Iraq as well as respect for international law.

He said that the Iraqi people love peace and stability and do not want enmity with their brothers and friends.

Opposition on Food Shortages, Saddam's Shelters

NC3010184690 Cairo MENA in Arabic 1755 GMT 30 Oct 90

[Text] Cairo, 30 Oct (MENA)—A statement issued by the National Committees for Iraq's Salvation said that the effects of the economic crisis have started to appear clearly inside Iraq in the wake of the manifest shortage of foodstuffs—particularly rice, oils, and meat—and the sharp increase in their prices.

The committees distributed a statement on this here today and said that while the Iraqi people are suffering from acute shortages and foodstuff scarcities, Saddam Husayn and his retinue continue to live a life of luxury. It added that Saddam's family has recently moved to a secure and unknown place in Switzerland. It also said that two planes and their crews are parked and ready to transport Saddam and his retinue to Cuba if he is forced to flee Iraq.

The statement added that Saddam has prepared underground shelters designed to accommodate 100 people for eight months. These shelters are equipped with telephones, televisions, and radio communication lines and are linked to satellites.

Turkish Press Reports 40 Kurds Executed in Iraq

NC3110122590 Istanbul HURRIYET in Turkish 22 Oct 90 p 14

[Text] Ozalp—Van (HURRIYET News Agency)—Iraqi leader Saddam Husayn allegedly ordered the execution of 40 Kurds charged with opposing his regime. Radio Vahdet, broadcasting from Iran, reported: "Without differentiating between guilt and innocence, Saddam is sending all those he suspects to firing squads." In its Kurdish broadcast, the radio claimed that 40 Kurds were taken from their homes on Thursday to an unknown place and executed.

Shamir Says 'No Room for Compromise' on Jerusalem

TA3110195090 Jerusalem Israel Television Network in Hebrew 1900 GMT 31 Oct 90

[Interview with Prime Minister Yitzhaq Shamir by political correspondent 'Imanu'el Halperin in Jerusalem on 31 October—recorded]

[Text] [Halperin] Mr. Shamir, you said just now that as far as Jerusalem is concerned there is and will be no room for compromise. Are we still at odds with the United States over the Security Council resolution, or has there been some shift toward a compromise formula that will allow us to get out of this complex situation?

[Shamir] I can see no room for compromise. I think the U.S. Administration knows very well that the Israeli Government will not change its position on Jerusalem, and I presume that the administration will realize this, thereby ending the conflict.

[Halperin] Have the Americans pledged, promised, or hinted that they would veto a Security Council resolution on sanctions against Israel?

[Shamir] No such undertaking exists, but I hope this will be the case.

[Halperin] Do you have grounds to believe this will be so?

[Shamir] I have hope.

[Halperin] Regarding the guarantees: James Baker has frozen the guarantees on the $400-million loan. Will you be prepared to append your signature to the foreign minister's letter of commitments?

[Shamir] The truth is that we have not received any notification of this.

[Halperin] You mean the freeze?

[Shamir] Yes. All we know is that no change has occurred and that the matter should materialize.

[Halperin] In other words, the way things stand right now, we are to receive the guarantee and the loan.

[Shamir] So it seems to me, unless we are otherwise advised.

Meridor Rejects Linkage of Loan, UN Resolution

TA3110163090 Tel Aviv Educational Television Network in Hebrew 1500 GMT 31 Oct 90

[Interview with Justice Minister Dan Meridor by correspondent Rafi Reshef in studio—live]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] [Reshef] One cannot ignore our relations with the United States and this latest decision to put off once again, until after the receipt of clarifications, giving Israel the famous guarantees for the loan to finance housing for new immigrants. Baker's decision not to visit Israel, even though he will be touring the region, also warrants mention. Is this, to the best of your knowledge, a routine affair, or is there concern that relations between Washington and Jerusalem might deteriorate even further?

[Meridor] We are not interested in any deterioration or conflict with the United States. It does not please us to respond in the negative to U.S. requests. I believe, however, that certain unnecessary actions were taken, such as when they decided to discuss Jerusalem and determined—in a UN Security Council resolution initiated by the United States—that it is occupied territory; or when, under the UN aegis, they wanted to send an envoy to report on Jerusalem. I think it is not good. I think that if the guarantees for the $400 million are linked to that, and I hope they are not, and if the issue is tied to construction work in Ramat Eshkol, the French Hill, Gilo, or Neve Ya'aqov, then everyone—including our friends whose friendship we want—should realize that we do not intend to reach—or even talk about—a compromise on Jerusalem, and that under no circumstances will we regard Jerusalem as a subject for discussion with the United States in connection with guarantees involving any sum.

[Reshef] Incidentally, is it your impression that, having received the Zamir commission's report, the United States has stepped down from the demand that a separate commission of inquiry, on behalf of the Security Council, be dispatched?

[Meridor] I cannot form a concrete impression of what exactly the United States plans to do. I hope our position is clear enough, and I also hope that it is not in the interest of the United States to bring about unnecessary friction with Israel over Jerusalem. I think the main U.S. problem is, and should be, not what happens now regarding the decision over the tragic Temple Mount incident, but how to resolve the dangerous Gulf crisis. I believe that is the number one item on the U.S. agenda. Let us wait and see how this is resolved.

[Reshef] Thank you very much, Mr. Justice Minister.

[Meridor] Thank you very much.

Treasury Officials To Seek Further U.S. Loans

TA3110195690 Jerusalem Israel Television Network in Hebrew 1900 GMT 31 Oct 90

[Text] Israel will approach the U.S. Administration with a request for guarantees for additional loans to the tune of hundreds of millions of dollars. The decision to approach the United States was made by the top Treasury echelon, even though the U.S. Administration is still creating substantial difficulties for Israel's request for a $400-million loan guarantee.

Our correspondent reports that the Israeli Government will have to raise some $3 billion in the next year to handle the surge in immigration and its security requirements. In the budget proposal the finance minister will

soon submit to the cabinet, the Treasury will demand cuts in both aid to immigrants and in the services given to Israeli citizens.

Air Force Raids 'Terrorist' Targets in Lebanon

TA0111134390 Tel Aviv IDF Radio in Hebrew 1330 GMT 1 Nov 90

[Report by army affairs correspondent Amir Fink]

[Excerpts] This afternoon Israeli Air Force planes attacked terrorist targets near Majdal Balhis in the Lake al-Qir'awn area in the Lebanese al-Biqa' region. The targets were hit and all our aircraft returned safely. The sites that were raided served the terrorists as launch camps from which to go out on terrorist missions. This is the second air raid in eight days. [passage omitted]

The attack came one day after Hizballah's attempt to introduce a booby-trapped car into the security zone in southern Lebanon. The two terrorists who tried to carry out the mission were caught. This is the sixteenth Air Force raid this year. [passage omitted]

Tzomet Gives Ultimatum on Electoral Reform Bill

TA0111172490 Tel Aviv IDF Radio in Hebrew 1700 GMT 1 Nov 90

[Text] Tzomet will quit the coalition in three weeks if the electoral reform bill is not raised at the Knesset for the second and third readings while allowing all the coalition members to enjoy the freedom of vote. This decision was adopted this evening by the Tzomet secretariat. Our correspondent Yaron Deqel points out that the resolution was passed unanimously.

Levi Notes Importance of Zamir Report

TA2610163690 Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 1600 GMT 26 Oct 90

[Text] Foreign Minister David Levi this evening said that it should be hoped that the countries of the world, friends and others, will again realize that despite our living in a cruel area, we maintain the world's highest standards of democratic and human values, carefully examine ourselves, and draw conclusions from every event. The foreign minister said that the Zamir commission report is primarily important for internal purposes: The people in Israel must be certain that the acts of our security forces are immaculate.

According to Foreign Minister Levi, the report is also important in its presenting the truth to the Arab population to prevent it from being fed by rumors and incitement.

Reportage on Levi's Visit to France

WA3010181790

For reportage on the visit by Foreign Minister David Levi to France, including reports on his talks with President Francois Mitterrand, Prime Minister Michel Rocard, and Foreign Minister Roland Dumas, please see the FRANCE section of the 30 October West Europe DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

Economics Minister on Commission, Green Line

TA2610165090 Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 1600 GMT 26 Oct 90

[Text] Minister David Magen has said that the government will discuss the Zamir commission report on 28 October, and he will draw personal conclusions when they are called for, although the commission did not stipulate a need to do that. He believes that if they are needed, special arrangements will be made to maintain order on the Temple Mount, and that the government would not fear taking steps such as restricting the number of worshippers, or even taking the Temple Mount keys from the Waqf.

Addressing an audience in Haifa this evening, the economics and planning minister said that closing the Green Line was a justified step to calm the situation, but it is the government's policy to view this line as an erasable one. This was reported by our correspondent Haviva Roger.

Knesset Parties' Reaction to Zamir Findings

TA2610151790

[Editorial report] Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew at 1200 GMT on 26 October reports: "Minister Yuval Ne'eman said the Zamir commission's report looks serious. He will study it closely, but in addition to its conclusions, it is important to stress the damage caused by the Waqf's control of the Temple Mount in Jerusalem and the international media's distortion of the events that took place there.

"Other reactions by political figures: Citizens Rights Movement Knesset member [MK] Yosi Sarid said that his initial impression is that the commission's work is disappointing because no one might have to pay the price for the failure on the Temple Mount during the Feast of the Tabernacles, just as in the past with other clear-cut failures. Sarid believes that the commission's decision not to deal with the drawing of personal conclusions looks like a deliberate evasion, but it will now be up to the government to fire those responsible for the mishap.

"HADASH [Democratic Front for Peace and Equality] said that the contradictions between the conclusions of the Zamir report, which justified the use of live ammunition during the Temple Mount events, and the conclusions of the inquiry committee set up by the Supreme Muslim Council, strengthen the need for an international inquiry. MK Tamar Gozansky, therefore, calls on the government to drop its refusal to receive a UN mission."

Tel Aviv IDF Radio in Hebrew at 1200 GMT on 26 October quotes Hayim Ramon, the Knesset Alignment faction chairman, saying: "It would be a mistake to put all responsibility on the police. It is the political echelon under Yitzhaq Shamir that must be investigated, since it is responsible for the deterioration in internal security throughout the country and is giving security forces an impossible mission. The concept of doing nothing and maintaining the status quo while halting the political process has failed, and the illusion that the intifadah can be uprooted only by force has been smashed."

Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew at 1300 GMT on 26 October carries other reactions: "Degel Hatorah accepts the conclusions of the commission and recommends that they be followed.

"MAPAM [United Workers Party] has said that the impression is that the commission viewed the killing and injury of Palestinians as a necessity that should not be condemned. MAPAM believes that the government was wrong in that it did not appoint a commission of inquiry headed by a judge, and that the report will therefore be subject to severe disputes, not only around the world, but also within Israel.

"The NRP [National Religious Party] recommends that the report be adopted. It stresses the responsibility of those who planned the riots and demands that they be punished to the full extent of the law.

"MK Muhammad Mi'ari [of the Progressive List for Peace] has said that the conclusions of the commission have been tailored to fit a predesignated measure.

"The Tehiyha also stresses the responsibility of the intifadah leaders and considers the Waqf control of the Temple Mount to be dangerous.

"Moledet has said that the first and foremost responsibility lies with the political level.

"The Likud has said that it is possible that mistakes were made, but the police affairs minister will find a way to implement the report. He who rushed to accuse Israel, did so with no justification.

"Shinuy has said that the commission's work deserves praise. The main mission at this time is to prevent friction with the United States and to invite a UN delegation to come to Israel, review the report, and meet the commission members.

"Further reactions from East Jerusalem: Faysal al-Husayni has said that the Zamir commission was not a commission of inquiry, but a commission to formulate the government's stand. It took a one-sided position and represented the Israeli side only, without expressing the Palestinian position. Al-Husayni stressed that this is his initial reaction, which has been based on media reports and made before reading the full report."

Parliament Member Refuses To Receive U.S. Envoy

JN0111074690 Amman AL-RA'Y in Arabic 01 Nov 90 p 12

[Text] Amman, AL-RA'Y—House of Representatives Member Faris al-Nabulsi yesterday refused to receive the U.S. ambassador to Amman. Deputy al-Nabulsi attributed his refusal [to receive the ambassador] to the United States' hostile stand on the causes of the Arab nation in general, and Jordan in particular; its support for the forces of evil and tyranny; the presence of its invading forces on the land of the Arabian Peninsula; and its threats against the nation's sanctities and civilization.

Released Swedes Arrive From Iraq

LD3110173890 Stockholm Domestic Service in Swedish 1700 GMT 31 Oct 90

[Text] The six Swedes who yesterday were released by Iraq landed just over an hour ago in Amman, Jordan, reports our Middle East correspondent. Following a speedy handling of the Swedes' exit visas, those released were able to leave the country together with the delegation of Rikstag members who had negotiated their release. The Swedes will travel home to Sweden tomorrow.

Local Trucks Resume Travel To Turkey

JN3010125790 Amman AL-DUSTUR in Arabic 30 Oct 90 p 17

[By Ahmad Shakir from Amman]

[Text] Many refrigerator and other trucks have started operating between Turkey, Jordan, and the Arab Gulf states after a stoppage of several weeks.

Jordanian sources said that the Turkish Government had taken measures, some of which were to give priority in transportation to Turkish trucks in view of the current circumstances that led to stopping Jordanian trucks transporting Turkish goods to the Gulf countries.

Mr. Haykal al-Miflih, head of the Refrigerator Truck Drivers' Union, told AL-DUSTUR that Jordanian truck drivers who already have entry visas to Saudi Arabia are the ones who will currently travel from Turkey to the Gulf countries. Most of these visas, however, expire at the end of this year since the Saudis give truck drivers a six-month visa.

Mr. al-Miflih praised the Turkish measures, by which our trucks are travelling there empty and coming back loaded with Turkish products having obtained prior permission. He added that this will provide scores of work opportunities for truck drivers with valid visas for Saudi Arabia.

AL-DUSTUR learned that a delegation from the Turkish Transport Ministry will arrive in Amman soon to sign a protocol of the transport agreement between Jordan and Turkey that takes into consideration the interests of the two countries with respect to transit trucks from Europe to Jordan and the Arab Gulf countries.

Prince Hasan Receives South Korean Official

JN3110185490 Amman Domestic Service in English 1700 GMT 31 Oct 90

[Text] His Royal Highness Crown Prince Hasan, the regent, received the Korean deputy foreign minister and his accompanying delegation today.

The regent reviewed with Mr. Yu Chong-ha Jordan's attitude towards the Gulf crisis since its beginning. The minister showed understanding for Jordan's attitude, which he said has recently become clearer to the world.

The minister of planning also met the Korean deputy foreign minister and briefed him on Jordan's current economic situation and difficulties.

Al-Bilbaysi Hosts Talks

JN3110183890 Amman PETRA-JNA in Arabic 1645 GMT 31 Oct 90

[Text] Amman, 31 Oct (PETRA)—The Jordanian side, led by Mr. Mu'tasim al-Bilbaysi, secretary general of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and the Korean side, under Yu Chong-ha, vice foreign minister, held a session of talks today at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The talks centered on bilateral ties and ways of developing them in the economic, cultural, and technical fields.

The two sides exchanged views on the developments of the Gulf crisis, with special emphasis on a peaceful solution to resolve it justly within the framework of international legitimacy.

Islamic Jihad Claims Responsibility for Attack

NC0111073890 (Clandestine) Voice of the Oppressed in Arabic to Lebanon 0630 GMT 1 Nov 90

[Text] In a statement issued in Beirut yesterday, the Islamic Jihad Organization [IJO] claimed responsibility for the heroic operation against a Zionist patrol in the occupied Gaza Strip.

The statement said: The IJO military unit in the Gaza Strip launched an attack with machine guns and explosive charges against a Zionist enemy patrol at a late hour yesterday [30 October]. According to the statement, many Zionist elements were killed and others wounded in the attack.

The IJO noted that the attack was launched 24 hours after the Israeli war minister Moshe Arens' decision, which granted more authority to the security organs in their war against the IJO.

The statement adds: As we claim responsibility for the two operations in Gaza and Jabalyah, we assert that our mujahidin will continue their war and jihad against the usurper enemy. We will work every day to escalate and develop the means of this war, until the last Zionist is uprooted from our soil.

Al-Hirawi on Greater Beirut, 'Political Crimes'

NC3110145290 Beirut Voice of Lebanon in Arabic 1215 GMT 31 Oct 90

[Statement by Cabinet Secretary General Hisham al-Sha'ar, following the cabinet meeting chaired by President Ilyas al-Hirawi in Beirut on 31 October—recorded]

[Excerpt] The cabinet held its weekly meeting today, chaired by President Ilyas al-Hirawi, with Prime Minister Dr. Salim al-Huss and the other ministers present.

The president began the session by reviewing the general situation in the country in light of the decision to establish greater Beirut and the intensive and positive exchanges held by the two-man committee of Ministers Albert Mansur and Muhsin Dallul. The president praised the unremitting efforts exerted by the committee.

The president said: Despite the considerable significance that we attach to the creation of greater Beirut as soon as possible, we have to reiterate that the state intends to go beyond the implementation of this plan. Our goal is to extend the authority of the state over all of Lebanon, without exception, and we will employ all the means at our disposal to achieve this end.

President al-Hirawi added: Political crimes have been committed against the Lebanese state which have resulted in the assassination and martyrdom of several presidents and national leaders over the past few years. These include the assassinations of Presidents Bashir al-Jumayyil and Rene Mu'awwad, Prime Minister Rashid Karami, and [Druze leader] Kamal Junblatt. Now that our judiciary system and legal organs are operating normally once again, these cases and investigations must be reopened so that the circumstances of these crimes and the identity of those who planned or executed them can be uncovered, and they can be brought to justice.

President al-Hirawi said that the investigation into the assassination of Dany Sham'un and his family should proceed at full speed until the culprits are identified.

Prime Minister al-Huss then spoke, and he concurred with President al-Hirawi's remarks concerning the two-minister committee and the investigation into political crimes. [passage omitted]

Ja'ja' Criticizes Release of Al-Jumayyil Assassin

NC3110212490 (Clandestine) Radio Free Lebanon in Arabic 1945 GMT 31 Oct 90

[Text] Lebanese Forces Commander Dr. Samir Ja'ja' has studied the cabinet decision to open the files of the political assassinations that took place during the war years. He said that this is an indication that the state intends to shoulder its responsibilities. He noted, however, that there is a clear difference between this decision and the release of Habib al- Shartuni [assassin of president-elect Bashir al-Jumayyil], perpetrator of such a political crime, only a few days after the legitimate authority assumed its responsibilities in the two al-Matn regions.

Dr. Ja'ja' said that the seriousness of this cabinet decision lies in the state's ability to suppress criminal actions that take place in the areas that are now under the state's control. He added that the legitimate government's touchstone on this subject lies in bringing this criminal to justice. Al-Shartuni's file is more complete than the other files involving political assassinations, and he was released in an area that is supposed to be under the control of the legitimate government and would serve as a model for the establishment of the state's authority in the rest of the areas.

Birri Willing To Hand Over Bases to Government

NC3110191590 (Clandestine) Voice of the Mountain in Arabic to Lebanon 1730 GMT 31 Oct 90

[Text] Amal Movement leader Minister Nabih Birri has stated that he is willing to hand over all the movement's bases and weapons to the legitimate authorities and keep only those weapons to be used to liberate the South from Israeli occupation. He noted that the possession of weapons for this purpose is supported by the legitimate government.

In an interview with the Abu-Dhabi newspaper AL-ITTIHAD, Minister Birri said that he has issued instructions to transfer Amal's weapons to the South in preparation for the establishment of greater Beirut.

Inspectors Survey Damage to B'abda Palace

NC3110152090 Beirut Domestic Service in Arabic 1400 GMT 31 Oct 90

[Text] An initial inspection tour of the B'abda Presidential Palace, conducted by a committee of engineers, revealed that 75 percent of the palace is totally destroyed, that 90 percent of its furniture and equipment is damaged or burned, and that rebuilding the palace will entail the demolition of large parts of it.

Al-Tufayli Calls for 'Just' Government

NC2710095090 (Clandestine) Voice of the Oppressed in Arabic to Lebanon 0630 GMT 27 Oct 90

[Text] Hizballah Secretary General His Eminence Shaykh Subhi al-Tufayli has said that the pace of events accelerated after [the ouster of General Michel 'Awn on] 13 October, and a new peaceful phase is about to begin. In an interview with our radio, his eminence called for the establishment of a just government and a resisting society, as this is needed to confront the enemies, chiefly the Zionist enemy.

The Hizballah secretary general said: We support security arrangements that can deliver justice. We support serious security plans that treat all areas and communities equally and that fight injustice and those who perpetrate it.

Shaykh al-Tufayli said that Hizballah is interested in Lebanon's policies and affairs. Hizballah is fully committed to its chosen role and not to one others want it to play. As for its possible participation in government, Hizballah is waiting to see how things proceed and what picture emerges when the smoke clears.

Answering a question about the militias, his eminence said that all parties differentiate between the militias and the resistance. We want the militias to be eliminated and the resistance to continue. We are quite comfortable with this position.

As for Hizballah's position vis-a-vis the implementation of the al-Ta'if agreement, Shaykh al-Tufayli said: We have fought to preserve our freedom and to express our point of view. It is true that we are opposed to al-Ta'if, but our opposition is political rather than military.

In response to a question about the current consultations concerning the Hizballah-Amal Movement conflict, his eminence expressed hope that this problem can be solved and said that consultations are under way. Acknowledging the existence of some minor problems, Shaykh al-Tufayli voiced the hope that these problems will be resolved and that the situation will improve.

As for Hizballah's relations with Syria, al-Tufayli said that these relations are strong and that Syria should receive credit for its actions for Lebanon, both in terms of the dangers it helped remove and in terms of the confrontation against the Zionist enemy.

His eminence assured Muslims that there is no reason to worry about the Islamic situation, for the situation is good, the future is promising, and we are full of hope, he said.

Fedayeen Kill 'Many Zionist Soldiers' in Clash

JN2210205790 Baghdad Voice of the PLO in Arabic 1930 GMT 22 Oct 90

[Text] A Palestinian fedayeen group was engaged in a fierce battle with a large Zionist army unit on the western slopes of Mount Hermon on the Lebanese-Palestinian border. The battle continued for three hours, with our fedayeen group using machine guns, rockets, and hand grenades. Many Zionist enemy soldiers were killed or wounded and two Zionist military vehicles were destroyed in the battle.

Three Resistance Fighters Killed in Operation

NC2310183090 (Clandestine) Voice of the Mountain in Arabic to Lebanon 1730 GMT 23 Oct 90

[Text] The National Resistance Front has announced the death of three of its fighters—martyrs In'am Salim Hamzah, Husam 'Izz-al-Din 'Ali, and Husayn Ahmad al-Hujuabah—who fell on Saturday night during an attack on an enemy patrol in the vicinity of Shib'a. A statement by the front said the Israeli patrol, comprised of one officer and three soldiers, was wiped out.

On the other hand, Israeli artillery fired flares tonight over Taw'amat Niha from its positions in Marj 'Uyun. Mashgharah and 'Ayn al-Tinah have also come under heavy artillery shelling.

Amal Fighters on 23 Oct Attack in South

NC2410123890 Beirut Domestic Service in Arabic 1130 GMT 24 Oct 90

[Text] In a statement it issued today, the operations room of the Lebanese Resistance Battalions-Amal announced that last night one of its resistance groups attacked a forward position of the enemy forces and agents in the Tallat 'Alman-al-Shumariyah area using automatic weapons and rockets. The statement said the confrontation between the resistance fighters and the troops manning the position continued for 15 minutes, after which the resistance fighters returned to their bases.

The statement added that after the operation, the enemy carried out a wide-scale operation with artillery, shelling the villages of Zawtar al-Sharqiyah, Zawtar al-Gharbiyah, Qa'qa'iyat al-Jisr, and the al-Litani River basin with 120-mm, 105-mm, and 82-mm guns.

Press Criticizes U.S. Support, Aid for Israel

Israel Being 'Rewarded'

JN3110203790 Damascus TISHRIN in Arabic 27 Oct 90 p 8

["Behind the News" column by Mustafa al-Faqir: "The U.S. Double Standard"]

[Text] As it has rejected the Security Council resolution on holding an investigation into the al-Aqsa Mosque massacre, Israel has also rejected the second Security Council resolution urging the Shamir government to review its stance on receiving the mission of the UN secretary general. An Israeli spokesman said that the government will pay no attention to this resolution. Meanwhile, Shamir's adviser Avi Pazner said: "Allowing the UN mission to visit Jerusalem and to investigate into the 8 October disturbances is an acceptance of foreign interference in internal affairs."

In light of this blatant challenge to the international community, a person has the right to ask about the U.S. position. Was this position at the level of the big responsibility shouldered by the United States, particularly since Israel has stepped on international law, the UN principles, and the Security Council resolutions?

The truth is that the obvious facts are startling. What is going on shows that it is as if the United States wants to do penance for the guilt of condemning Israel's crime in al-Aqsa mosque by pouring aid on it in a way that disrupts the balance in the Middle East. It gave Israel the sophisticated Patriot missile system, new F-15 aircraft, in addition to assault helicopters. It also granted Israel $700 million in the form of additional military aid, in addition to $400 million to settle the Jewish immigrants. At the same time, it has decided to increase the U.S. stockpile of weapons and ammunition in Israel and placed it at the disposal of the Zionist army.

It is known that all these weapons will ultimately be aimed at the chests of the Arabs, particularly the Palestinians, Syrians, and Lebanese. In other words, Israel—which recently committed the ugliest massacres, escalated its bestial repression against our kinfolk in the occupied territory, and violated all international charters and principles—is not punished for these crimes but is rewarded, specifically by the United States.

Although we agree with the international community on the need for confronting the aggression and occupation by a decisive and deterrent position, the American position on the continuous Israeli aggression encourages it, however, and deals a serious blow to peace opportunities in the region. The Israeli aggression is not new; it has been going on since the establishment of the Zionist entity. So far, the United States has taken no practical step to curb this Israeli aggressiveness. It is obvious that Washington is dealing with the Arabs with extreme disdain. Why does it help Israel and supply it with weapons to continue its plotting against the Arabs and prepare for new wars, at a time when the UN Security Council unanimously denounces Israel's practices—and the United States was among the members that denounced these practices?

We all know that Israel has never attached any importance to the United Nations and its resolutions, not even to the hopes and desires of the U.S. Administration itself. It is armed with the Jewish lobby in Washington. The facts and new changes, however, require that the United States should define a clear and decisive position. It either supports right and justice or stands on the side of aggression. The American weapons and funds heaped on Israel disrupt the balance of power and constitute a threat to Arab rights. The Arabs are duty-bound to examine U.S. policy carefully and draw the necessary lessons.

Harbors 'Dangerous Intentions'

JN3110195190 Damascus AL-THAWRAH in Arabic 27 Oct 90 p 9

[From "AL-THAWRAH Issues" column: "America and the Deceptions" by Ahmad 'Ajaj]

[Text] Every day a new fact emerges about the damage inflicted on the Arab nation and the Palestine question by the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait. And each day new difficulties are added to the problems created by this invasion of the Arab nation and its vital forces, which are confronting the Israeli aggression and the expansionist Zionist schemes.

With the destructive consequence it left on the Arab arena, the invasion has opened the door of the Arabian Gulf to a multinational foreign military presence and diverted attention from the Arab-Zionist conflict to the inter-Arab conflict, in response to the wishes of those who claim militancy and raise deceptive slogans and their expansionist lusts and tyrannical whims at the expense of their Arab brothers.

The invasion has also provided a thick cover for the intensive Jewish emigration to occupied Palestine, which represents a new and serious qualitative step to support the Zionist colonial and aggressive scheme that is supported by world imperialism.

What is worse, the invasion came shortly after the internationally fabricated uproar regarding the Iraqi regime's political one-upmanship about its intentions to "set half of Israel on fire." These allegations stirred a major political and media uproar and clamor which Israel employed to obtain more advanced weapons of destruction and funds from the strategic ally, the United States of America.

Such allegations and such an invasion have reinforced the Western and Israeli propaganda machines' material on the imaginary "Iraqi threat" to Israel. This has given the United States the excuse to open its military arsenal to the Zionist enemy to take whatever advanced

weapons it desires and to give unlimited financial support to "Israel" to build settlements to house the new immigrants, in addition to the $3 billion annual aid to support Israel.

Irrespective of the Iraqi regime's objective in making such statements, which aimed at concealing its secret contacts with Israel and using the Palestine question as a cover to hide the regime's national and pan-Arab faults and its support to the Palestinian deviationist trend in order to make further concessions and jump into the trap of liquidationist solutions, by which it gave pledges to Israel not to resist it—we say, irrespective of all this, we see clearly how the United States has attempted to link its recent decisions to support the Israeli military resources with the Iraqi stand toward Kuwait. This linkage lacks the convincing argument and is illogical and aims at deception. It also aims, just as the Syrian official spokesman said, at diverting the attention of the world in general, and the Arab nation in particular, from the dangerous intentions which Israel, the United States, and certain Western countries, harbor against the Arabs.

Thus, the Iraqi invasion opens the doors before the catastrophe. And, thus, the Zionist aggression, supported by the United States, becomes a self-defense. The objective is to make Arabs fall victim to the deceptions propagated by the Iraqi regime, which has involved the nation in unlimited problems and crises. Will the Arabs examine what is taking place, study their positions, and act properly, as the official Syrian source said, before it is too late?

Interests 'Top Priority'

JN3110191790 Damascus AL-THAWRAH in Arabic 28 Oct 90 p 9

[From "AL-THAWRAH issues" column: "Before It Is Too Late" by Qasim Yaghi]

[Text] Whenever the United States claims to have a balanced policy toward the Arab region and Israel, events reveal exactly the opposite and confirm that U.S. policy in the region places Zionist interests at the top priority in the region.

The United States has been unable to hide this fact, despite the sensitive and serious situation in the Arab region brought on by the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait. Rather, it wanted to exploit the current dangerous situation to pass off a new arms deal to Israel that includes advanced arms, large quantities of ammunition, and other weapons, in addition to the large financial aid.

All this reaffirms that there are premeditated U.S.-Israeli intentions against the Arab nation and its central issue, namely, Palestine. This is clearly portrayed in Israel's aggression and sanguinary repression of the Arab people in the occupied territories, which aim at deporting the Palestinian Arab people to allow the heads of the Zionist entity to carry out their plans to accommodate the new Zionist immigrants coming from everywhere, especially the Soviet Union and East Europe.

With regard to this precise issue, the United States was not alone in supporting Israel. There are some West European states which support it and even exaggerate in doing so by not only coordinating their positions to support and advocate the joint U.S.-Israeli movement in the region, but also by adopting hostile stances against any state, side, or institution which objects to the Israeli policy or holds a firm, principled position on this entity and its expansionist policies at the expense of the Arab land and the rights of the Palestinian Arab people.

Therefore, all Arabs must see the reality of the danger surrounding them as a result of the U.S. military and financial aid to Israel during this sensitive and serious situation before it is too late, where mixed interests exist and evil plots are being hatched. This unlimited U.S. support for Israel, as the official Syrian spokesman has stressed, cannot under any conditions establish peace or even aim to do so; rather, it consolidates aggression and occupation and encourages invasion and expansion.

Bangladesh

Hindu-Muslim Violence Prompts Chittagong Curfew

BK3110051090 Hong Kong AFP in English 0414 GMT 31 Oct 90

[Text] Chittagong, Bangladesh, Oct 31 (AFP)—An indefinite curfew was imposed in Bangladesh's port city of Chittagong following sporadic incidents of communal violence and arson, a resident said by telephone Wednesday.

The violence broke out late Tuesday with groups of people attacking several Hindu temples, shouting anti-Indian slogans and criticising the occupation of a Muslim mosque in Ayodhya, India, by Hindus, he said, adding, "police moved in to quell the growing violence."

A strict curfew was imposed early Wednesday and police patrolled the deserted street as occasional sounds of firecrackers were heard and columns of smoke from overnight fires could still be seen, the resident who declined to be named said.

The situation was tense but under control, another resident said.

Local officials were unavailable immediately for comment.

No casualties were reported as yet from the affected Chalk Bazaar, Kalivari, Charteshawarih and Sirazdowla areas of Chittagong, Bangladesh's second largest city with a population of about two million.

Hindus are a minority group in predominantly Moslem Bangladesh, comprising 12 per cent of the population.

Some 2,000 Hindus Tuesday stormed the Ayodhya Mosque, vowing to destroy it because it was allegedly built after demolishing a Hindu Temple in the 16th century. They were finally ousted by police.

Ershad Calls for End to Religious Clashes

BK3110161390 Dhaka Domestic Service in English 1530 GMT 31 Oct 90

[Text] President Ershad has given a clarion call to the people to maintain communal peace and harmony in keeping with the country's glorious traditions in this regard. At a big youth rally in front of Jatiya Bhavan in Dhaka today, he said Bangladesh has a good reputation in the world for its communal harmony and urged all to maintain this reputation. The president said Muslims, Hindus, Christians, and Buddhists have been living for ages in this country with love and amity.

Referring to last night's incidents in Chittagong, he said steps are being taken so that the Hindus are not persecuted. The president urged the members of the Hindu community to live freely with dignity and faith. It is the duty of his government and the people of this country to ensure the rights and security of the minority communities. He said he believed in communal harmony and as Muslims it is our religious duty to love others.

A Hindu religious leader, Vivekananda Brahamchari, called on President Ershad in Dhaka today. The Hindu leader invited the president to be the chief guest at the grand Hindu rally to be held at (Shansal Vidhanta Mass) in (Madura) on the 11th of January.

A press note issued in Dhaka today says attempts were made to disrupt law and order in Chittagong city last night over the incidents concerning the Babri Mosque in India. As a result some damage was caused to [name indistinct] temple, but the law- enforcing agencies brought the situation under control immediately. A curfew was imposed there from 0300 to 1400 today. The situation is now under control.

The press note says the Joykhali and Dhakashari temples in Dhaka city were attacked today and attempts were made to set them on fire. As a result both the temples were damaged slightly. An indefinite curfew has been imposed on all areas of Kotwali, Shurjapur and Lalbagh police stations of the capital from 1800 this eveing. The situation is now under control. The government hopes all concerned will help maintain peace, discipline, and communal harmony by showing patience and restraint as it is a sacred duty of every citizen to ensure security of life and property of all people.

The schools in Dhaka metropolitan city will not reopen tomorrow as announced earlier. The decision has been taken in view of the prevailing situation in the capital. The dates for reopening of schools will be announced later on.

Government Suspends INQILAB Newspaper

BK3110170790 Dhaka Domestic Service in English 1530 GMT 31 Oct 90

[Text] The government has banned publication of the Daily INQILAB for 15 days for the time being for publishing provocative and prejudicial statements in today's issue. An official handout says the publisher of the daily has been asked to show cause within seven days as to why the subsequent publication of the INQILAB will not be banned permanently.

India

Further on Violence in Northern Areas

Commentary Considers Dispute

BK3110124790 Delhi General Overseas Service in English 1010 GMT 31 Oct 90

[Journalist P.P. Balachandran commentary: "Ayodhya and the Fallout"]

[Text] India has always maintained, and not wholly unjustifiably, to be the world's largest and also the most vibrant democracy. While similar experiments in other parts of the Third World floundered even before they could take off, India has survived some of the worst crises and upheavals; and instead of rendering itself weak, it only emerged stronger after every such challenge. It is not for nothing. Democracy in India was built

on the bedrock of certain fundamental principles which sustained human civilization through centuries. Secularism and peaceful coexistence are two of these lofty ideals. And not surprisingly, therefore, even at the worst of times, we have been able to survive as a nation and the people. Unity in diversity has not been a mere ceremonial slogan but the essence of the real India.

It is this essence, this bedrock of principles that has been shaken by the latest incidents over the Babri Masjid-Ram Janmabhoomi [disputed shrine] controversy. The governments in Uttar Pradesh and at the center have been warning the concerned parties and their leaders against the disastrous consequences of mixing religion with politics. While the government is determined to protect the interests of all communities, majority and minority, it is also its business to maintain law and order. In this context, it is only understandable that the state government of Mr. Mulayam Singh Yadav was almost on the verge of a nervous breakdown while making elaborate security arrangements. By a conventional estimate, nearly 50,000 police and paramilitary forces from all over the country have been deployed to counter any possible outbreak of violence. It is nothing surprising that such overwhelming security arrangements nothwithstanding, bloodshed could not be avoided. It could certainly have been avoided if wiser counsel prevailed on all concerned, both on the law enforcers and the law breakers sides.

So blinded were all parties by the power politics that the Bharatiya Janata Party [BJP], after playing one of the two dependable crutches of the National Front for 11 months, last week decided to pull out of the alliance, thus reducing the Vishwanath Pratap Singh government into a minority. The fate of the National Front government is almost sealed and the final act would be performed on 7 November when the prime minister would seek a vote of confidence from parliament as directed by the president. What happens on that crucial day in Parliament has already become a matter of mere academic interest. Even in the unlikely event of the government surviving the confidence motion, there is no guarantee that it would be the end of the problems for the prime minister and his cabinet. With the dissidents pursuing their activities relentlessly and with the hardening of postures of the BJP and the Congress-I toward the Janata Dal, it is naive to expect that Mr. V.P. Singh's problems would just go away once he won the confidence vote.

The likely scenario, as confirmed by seasoned political observers, is that the Lok Sabha will be dissolved after Mr. V.P. Singh is defeated in the confidence vote on 7 November and the country would go in for another bout of elections. Whether the country can afford another poll in less than one year, which would mean in financial terms a minimum of 5,000 million rupees, it is less relevant as far as the politicians are concerned. They only seem to be interested in scoring temporary gains, such as few more seats in the next poll. Curiously, while the leaders of major political parties may like to go for polls, their ranks and files, that is the members of Parliament, are dreading such a prospect. The BJP leadership expects to cash in on the Hindu resurgence, which they claim to have been caused by the temple-mosque controversy, in the coming elections. The Janata Dal leaders, on the other hand, expect the Mandal Commmission report and the government's firm stand against the temple protagonists to help them win. The Congress-I leaders, too, are expecting that a snap poll at this juncture might help them improve their position by invoking their pet theory of stability.

10 Killed, 150 Hurt in Indore

BK3110125890 Delhi Domestic Service in English 1230 GMT 31 Oct 90

[Text] In Madhya Pradesh, large-scale violence broke out in the curfew-bound Indore City today, in which at least eight persons were killed and more than 150 injured, 20 of them seriously. With this, the death toll has risen to 10 since yesterday. The Border Security Force staged a flag march in the affected areas in Indore. More than 400 people have been arrested so far.

Meanwhile, an indefinite curfew has been clamped in another district headquarters Devas and Mau near Indore as a precautionary measure.

Muslims Seek Talks With Hindu Groups

BK3110152490 Delhi Domestic Service in English 1430 GMT 31 Oct 90

[Text] A group of senior Muslim leaders have called for immediate and direct talks with the BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] and VHP [Vishwa Hindu Parishad—World Hindu Council] to find a solution to the Ram Janmabhoomi-Babri Masjid [disputed shrine] issue. A press statement signed by the leaders, including Mr. Javed Habib, the general secretary of the All India Babri Masjid Action Committee, has urged all parties involved in the issue to seek a permanent solution through dialogue. The statement urges the BJP, VHP, and RSS [Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh—Hindu fundamentalist organization] to desist from taking a stand that would fuel communal frenzy.

Uttar Pradesh Releases Hindu Militants

BK3110170390 Delhi Domestic Service in English 1530 GMT 31 Oct 90

[Text] In Uttar Pradesh, the process of releasing kar sevaks [Hindu volunteers] and the activists of the BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] and Vishwa Hindu Parishad [World Hindu Council] arrested during the last two

weeks has begun. The state home secretary told newsmen in Lucknow this evening that about 2,000 kar sevaks stranded in Ayodhya were taken in 25 buses either to the nearest railway stations or to their destinations.

The situation in Ayodhya and Faizabad continues to be peaceful. Senior officers camping in the city are now concentrating on the security arrangements in and around the disputed site of the Ram Janmabhoomi-Babri Masjid [disputed shrine] complex. The death toll in yesterday's firing incidents in Ayodhya has risen to six with one person succumbing to his injuries in hospital today.

The home secretary said incidents of arson, stabbing, and group clashes were reported from Bijnor town today. Meanwhile, the situation in 19 curfew-bound towns of the state generally remained peaceful. The Army staged flag marches in some sensitive towns today.

An indefinite curfew was imposed in Modinagar Town of Ghaziabad District following violent incidents. About half a dozen buses were set on fire by an unruly mob. In Kanpur, the three-hour relaxation period of the curfew passed off peacefully.

According to newsmen in Lucknow, the chief minister, Mr. Mulayam Singh Yadav, said that the government is considering to release soon the BJP, VHP leaders, and other workers detained during the Ram Janmabhoomi-Babri Masjid agitation. He said mild force was used to control the mob which was trying to enter the disputed place, ignoring all prohibitory orders.

In reply to a question, the chief minister accepted that the outer boundary wall of the mosque in Ayodhya is slightly damaged, which will be repaired soon.

Mr. Yadav said that the statement by the BJP leaders—Dr. Murli Manohar Joshi and Mr. K.L. Sharma—that the construction of the Ram Temple by kar sevaks has begun in Ayodhya is totally false. He said the BJP governments in Himachal Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, and Rajasthan had sent kar sevaks in large numbers, which cannot be justified in any case. He pointed out that yesterday's attempt at Ayodhya by BHP and others showed that they were not interested in the construction of the temple but wanted to demolish the mosque. The chief minister has appealed to both the parties to come out for negotiations. The state government will extend its fullest cooperation in this case, he added.

Gujarat Towns Implement Curfew

BK3110171390 Delhi Domestic Service in English 1530 GMT 31 Oct 90

[Text] In Gujarat, Dhaboi and Godhra towns have been placed under an indefinite curfew following violent incidents. In Godhra, two persons were injured when police opened fire to disperse a violent mob. The situation is reported to be tense but under control. In Ahmedabad, some stone-throwing incidents in the walled city were reported. The situation in the curfew-bound areas of Rajasthan, Bihar, Andhra Pradesh, and Karnataka is stated to be peaceful.

Delhi Radio Roundup

BK0111043890 Delhi Domestic Service in English 0240 GMT 1 Nov 90

[Text] In Madhya Pradesh, the situation in the curfew-bound Indore city is tense. Shoot at sight orders have been issued. The district magistrate told our correspondent this morning that two companies of the Central Industrial Security Force have been deployed in sensitive areas to assist the local administration. Police have recovered a large quantity of arms and ammunition during house to house searches. Five hundred and twenty five persons have been arrested. The state home minister, Mr. Kailash Chola, reviewed the situation at a high-level meeting last night after visiting the affected areas.

The situation in the neighboring towns of Dewas in Mao is peaceful. The district magistrate of Dewas said that curfew has been relaxed from 0600 to 0800 today.

In Uttar Pradesh, the situation in the twin cities of Faizabad and Ayodhya continues to be peaceful. Our Lucknow correspondent, quoting official sources, reports that a group of Kar Sevaks [Hindu volunteers trying to build temple at disputed mosque site] clashed with the police on the outskirts of Ayodhya last evening but they were chased away. The army also staged a flag march in Faizabad in order to ensure peace and confidence among the people. The army was called last night in Lucknow to help the civil authorities in maintaining law and order in the old city of Lucknow.

National Security Guards deployed in and around the disputed site of the Ram Janmabhoomi-Babri Masjid [disputed temple site] are maintaining close and strict vigil over the situation.

Meanwhile, the situation in 19 curfew-bound towns generally remained peaceful last night barring some minor incidents reported in Bijnor and Muzaffarnagar. The army contingents are helping the civil administration in Bijnor.

In Kanpur, the situation in the eight curfew-bound police stations areas is tense but under control. Government and semi- government offices in the city will remain closed today also.

Singh, President Meet; MP's To Be Released

BK3110161690 Delhi Domestic Service in English 1530 GMT 31 Oct 90

[Text] All members of Parliament detained in connection with the kar seva [voluntary service] for the Sri Ram Temple at Ayodhya will be released well before the 7th of next month to enable them to attend the one-day special session of the Lok Sabha. The prime minister, Mr. V.P. Singh, said this while talking to newsmen after a meeting

with the president, Mr. R. Venkataraman, at Rashtrapati Bhavan [President House] this evening.

The prime minister, during his meeting with the president, briefed him about the law and order situation, particularly in the context of the Ram Janmabhoomi-Babri Masjid [disputed shrine] issue. He also apprised the president of the steps taken for maintaining amity and peace.

Answering a question about a vote of confidence, the prime minister said that the issue will be placed before Parliament so that a meaningful debate can take place on the vital questions affecting the unity and integrity of the country. He said this debate would show who stood where on these crucial issues.

Our correspondent reports that earlier in the day, the Cabinet Committee on Political Affairs held a meeting to take stock of the situation.

CPI-M Reaffirms Support for Singh as Premier

BK3110134790 Delhi Domestic Service in English 1230 GMT 31 Oct 90

[Text] The CPI-M [Communist Party of India-Marxist] general secretary, Mr. E.M.S. Namboodiripad, has said that his party would oppose any move to replace Mr. V.P. Singh as prime minister. Addressing a news conference in Trivandrum today, Mr. Namboodiripad said the reported moves were unfortunate.

BJP Says Temple Solution Still Possible

BK3110153690 Delhi Domestic Service in English 1430 GMT 31 Oct 90

[Text] The BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] says it is not too late even now to find ways to settle the Ram Janmabhoomi-Babri Masjid [disputed shrine] issue through negotiations. Talking to newsmen in New Delhi this evening, the party general secretary, Dr. Murli Manohar Joshi, charged the government with making no sincere efforts and carrying out a disinformation campaign. He admitted that the kar seva [voluntary service to build Lord Rama temple in Ayodhya] could not be undertaken today, but it will continue till the seventh of next month.

BJP Calls for Mid-Term Elections

BK3110172190 Delhi Domestic Service in English 1530 GMT 31 Oct 90

[Text] The BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] president, Mr. L.K. Advani, has ruled out a patch-up with the V.P. Singh government. In a telephonic interview to a magazine, Mr. Advani said that his party is for the dissolution of the Lok Sabha and the mid-term poll. Mr. Advani said the withdrawal of his party's support is related to the total failure of the government on every front and not the mandir [temple] issue alone.

Congress-I Demands Home Minister's Resignation

BK3110170990 Delhi Domestic Service in English 1530 GMT 31 Oct 90

[Text] The Congress-I has demanded resignation of the home minister for yesterday's events in Ayodhya. Talking to newsmen, the party general secretary, Mr. V.N. Gadgil, alleged that Mufti Muhammad Sayeed gave false information about the Ayodhya situation on Doordarshan [Television].

Replying to questions, both Mr. Gadgil and the former Lok Sabha speaker, Dr. Bal Ram Jakhar, claimed that under the rules, the opposition no-confidence motion should get priority over the official motion during the Lok Sabha session.

Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Pays Visit

Meets Gujral

LD3110115390 Prague CTK in English 1027 GMT 31 Oct 90

[Text] Delhi October 31 (CTK correspondent)—Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier met here today his Indian counterpart Indra Kumar Gujral for talks on possibilities of expanding bilateral economic cooperation.

Representatives of Czechoslovak trade circles should visit India next January to examine possibilities of setting up joint ventures and cooperation on third markets.

Dienstbier who arrived here Tuesday [30 Oct] for an official visit briefed his partner on the pace of Czechoslovakia's economic reform. Both representatives also discussed international developments, especially the situation in South Asia, the Persian Gulf crisis and the North-South Relations.

Dienstbier paid tribute to outstanding persons of modern Indian history, Mahatma Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru, and Indira Gandhi who was assassinated exactly six years ago.

Dienstbier's visit to India closes his Asian tour which took him also to Japan, Korea and Thailand.

Favors Expanded Economic Ties

BK0111093790 Delhi Domestic Service in English 0830 GMT 1 Nov 90

[Text] Czechoslovakia is keenly interested in extending contacts with India at various levels, particularly in the field of economy. The visiting Czech deputy prime minister, Mr. Jiri Dienstbier, told newsmen in New Delhi today that he has had talks with Indian leaders in this context and a business delegation of his country will visit India in the near future to finalize specific proposals. He said with Czechoslovakia adopting a free

market economy, there would be ample scope for economic and industrial cooperation between the two countries at the private level as well. Answering a question, the deputy prime minister said Czechoslovakia would be interested in trade with India on a barter basis and also in setting up joint ventures.

Meets President, Prime Minister

LD0111112790 Prague CTK in English 0953 GMT 1 Nov 90

[Text] New Delhi Nov 1 (CTK)—Visiting Minister Dienstbier met here today with Indian President Ramaswamy Venkataraman and Premier Vishwanath Pratap Singh for talks on development of bilateral relations, cultural in particular, and promotion of economic cooperation.

At the beginning of 1991 the two countries are to sign a new trade agreement.

Venkataraman and Singh said at the talks with Dienstbier they looked forward to meeting Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel in India in future.

Meets Press

LD0111101390 Prague CTK in English 0859 GMT 1 Nov 90

[Text] New Delhi Nov 1 (CTK correspondent)—Czechoslovak Deputy Premier and Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier acquainted newsmen here today with the present development in Czechoslovakia and with progress of the economic reform.

He said that Czechoslovakia will have to rebuild the whole economy to eventually reach a functioning level. He mentioned great possibilities the Asian countries are offered in cooperation with Czechoslovakia, for instance, in setting up joint ventures.

Asked whether Czechoslovakia wants to be a capitalist or a socialist state, Minister Dienstbier said that the country favors a pragmatic approach. The terms "capitalist" or "socialist" date back to the 19th century and are outdated, he stated, adding that Czechoslovakia is fed up with all ideologies. If it should, however, choose some, then it would be the ideology of observing human rights.

The minister pointed out the gravity of the gulf crisis and stressed in this context that bipolarity between East and West should not be replaced by that between North and South in the new conditions.

India is the last leg on Jiri Dienstbier's tour of Japan, Republic of Korea and Thailand.

Officials Meet Iran's Khorasani, Delegation

LD0111122390 Tehran IRNA in English 1023 GMT 1 Nov 90

[Text] New Delhi, Nov. 1, IRNA—The current visit of Sa'id Rafa'i Khorasani, chairman of Foreign Relations Committee of Iranian Majlis (parliament) and his discussions with Indian officials will further strengthen Tehran-New Delhi relations.

Khorasani, who headed a high-ranking parliamentary delegation, in an interview with IRNA Wednesday [31 Oct] before leaving for Tehran said that his talks with the Indian prime minister, foreign minister and other officials, they showed keen interest to improve bilateral economic, technical and cultural relations.

He added that international issues, the current Persian Gulf crisis in particular, bilateral relations and developments related to Kashmir and the Barbi Mosque were raised in the talks.

The Indian officials also offered to export agricultural and industrial products to Iran and expressed their readiness to actively participate in Iran's post-war reconstruction programs, he added.

Praising the V.P. Singh government for handling the issue of Barbi Mosque, Khorasani said that the Indian Government has taken a brave action by arresting the leader of Bhartiya Janata Party L.K. Advani and many others despite the fear of possible collapse of the government. He added that the Indian Government had also assured Iran that nobody would be allowed to destroy the disputed mosque structure, he asserted.

As for the Kashmir, the chairman of the Iranian Majlis Foreign Relations Committee said that basically Iran supports Muslims all over the world. But in case of Kashmir, Iran must be concerned about interests of the Muslims residing in rest of India—nearly three fold of the population of Iran.

During his five day official visit Khorasani held meetings with the vice president, prime minister, foreign minister, minister of state for external affairs, minister of railways, and speaker and vice-speaker of the Lok Sabha (lower house). He also met the leader of congress and the Former Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi.

Iran

*KEYHAN-E HAVA'I Publishes Leaders Letters

26 Sep

91AS0052A Tehran KEYHAN-E HAVA'I in Persian 26 Sep 90 pp 1-2

[Text] During the sacred Defense Week, the president's public relations office has published the full text of Saddam Husayn's first two letters to Iranian officials and the president of Iran's answer to those letters, which are

printed here in full. The rest of the letters in this series of exchanges will be published in the next issue. **The text of the president of Iraq's first letter sent on 26 Ramadan, in lunar year 1410 (2 Ordibehesht 1369)[22 April 1990] to the leader of the revolution and the president of the Islamic Republic of Iran is as follows:**

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate

Your Excellency Mr. 'Ali Khamene'i, Your Excellency Mr. Hashemi-Rafsanjani

I addressed you in the Iraqi media, which was the only way I could say to you what I wanted to say. Likewise, in turn I saw your remarks in your own mass media. We took our last initiative to achieve a comprehensive and immediate peace on 5 January 1990, but we certainly have not found the peace desired by the two countries, to distance ourselves from the damages of war and the possibility of its renewed conflagration. It is clear that the latter issue and what could be the foundation for our hopes and aspirations could be established within an aura of speculation and dubious explanations. Now, without repeating my prior views, which could lead to a corresponding expression of your views and lead the discussion away from its constructive limits and objectives and into polemics and endless differences, to keep such a situation from overcoming the agreement we desire for an achievable, comprehensive, and immediate peace, God willing not only between Iraq and Iran but between the Arab nation and Iran, this time I am addressing you directly. I propose that we meet directly during this blessed month when Muslims are fasting and are seeking to please Almighty God. This meeting would include myself, God's servant and sender of this letter, Mr. 'Izzat Ibrahim, along with some of our aides, and on your side Messrs. 'Ali Khamene'i, Hashemi-Rafsanjani, and a group of your aides. I also propose that these meetings take place in noble Mecca, the goal of the Muslim pilgrimage and the ancient house built by our master Ibrahim (peace be upon him), or at any other place we agree to, so that with God's help we may work to achieve the peace for which our nations and the entire Islamic nation are waiting, thereby preventing further bloodshed, because among other things, it is possible that insiders in the old conflict between Iran and Iraq will try to put an end somehow once again to the peace between our two nations. You are certainly following reports of the threats against Iraq and the Arab nation from the Zionists and some of the superpowers and large nations, and you undoubtedly know that the main aim of these threats is to give the Zionist regime a free hand to draw the world into corruption so it will be able to destroy whatever blocks its false path and keeps the Zionist regime from remaining stable and satiating its wicked greed in the area, along with anyone who works to liberate the Arab lands of Palestine and noble Jerusalem, precious to every Muslim, and indeed to every believer in God, his books, and prophets, and the resurrection day. These wicked forces, whose aspirations will hopefully be thwarted with the help of God, will certainly work for the resumption of armed and bloody hostilities between Iran on the one hand and the Arab nation on the other, and they have numerous resources with which to achieve this. In that event not only would Muslims lose the opportunity to use their resources and abilities to liberate their shrines in Palestine, they would also suffer countless losses.

We believe that in the direct meetings we will have, it will be possible to achieve what is rightfully Iraq's and what is rightfully Iran's. The meetings will block the path of opportunists and those who are trying to contaminate the atmosphere for peace and tranquility, provided the objectives are sincerely aimed at a peace acceptable to God and pleasing to our nations.

As far as I am concerned, this intention is coupled with deep and lasting faith and there is nothing in it other than the desire to achieve our own firm rights, which are in balance with your firm rights.

I propose to you that the aforesaid meeting, in view of the principle of haste with acceptable objectives, be held on the second day of 'Id al-Fitr [28 April], or at any other agreed time.

Concerning your journey to Mecca and formalities by the host country, based on our mutual relations of brotherhood and respect with our brothers in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, we will ask our brother King Fahd Bin-'Abd-al-'Aziz to provide whatever is necessary and appropriate, with the understanding that we have not yet informed him of the contents of this letter.

To facilitate and provide for the meeting, perhaps you believe, as we do, that our representative should come to Tehran and yours to Baghdad, and that direct telephone lines should be installed to establish the necessary contacts between the two capitals.

God himself is witness to what I have said. Peace be upon you.

Saddam Husayn

Baghdad—26 Ramadan 1410 of the lunar year equivalent to 21 April 1990

The answer from the president of the Islamic Republic of Iran, Hojjat ol-Eslam val-Moslemin Hashemi-Rafsanjani to the Iraqi president's first letter is as follows:

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate

Praise God, and prayers and peace upon Mohammad, his servant and prophet, and on the chaste saints.

Your Excellency Mr. Saddam Husayn,

I have seen your letter dated 26 Ramadan 1410. If the contents of that letter had been considered eight years ago and if the message had been sent instead of soldiers, today the two nations of Iran and Iraq and perhaps the entire Islamic nation would not have suffered all these

losses and damage. Everyone knows that since the beginning the Islamic revolution has always emphasized closeness between Islamic nations, the splendor and grandeur of Islam and the Muslims, fighting the usurper government of Israel and the liberation of Palestine. If, as some have done, all the Arab governments of the region had recognized this anti-Zionist, anti-imperialist revolution and had cooperated with it, there would now be a balance of power in the Middle East. Islam and the Muslims would be there, and Israel and imperialism would not find this sort of opportunity to expand and spread evil.

Of course, we have no problem with the Arab nation, and we have benefitted from the sincere cooperation of some Arab governments. Regrettably, the historic opportunity of 10 years ago was lost. At the very beginning of the Islamic revolution an unwanted and devastating war was imposed upon us, a large part of our land at the nation's western border was occupied, and a great part of the human, economic, and military capital of the two great nations of Iran and Iraq that should have been used to fight infidelity and atheism was destroyed.

The enemies of Islam, and especially world-devouring America, benefitted from this war. On the pretext of defending some of the nations of the region, they interfered in their affairs, or increased their interference. Israel was also able to profit from this situation, and carried out some of its expansionist and aggressive plans. The shameful Camp David normalization and compromise with usurper Israel by some governments in the region is the result of this situation.

We have said repeatedly that if the war had not started and if the resources of the two nations of Iran and Iraq had been used for unity and to protect the interest of Muslims, Western imperialism and Zionism would not have dared to be so impudent.

In any case, a lesson must be taken from what has happened, and we must realize that the continuation of the state of neither war nor peace or renewal of the war will bring more devastation for both countries and both nations of Iran and Iraq, and it will bring impotence to Islam and happiness and the opportunity for more concessions to world infidelity.

Of course, the experience of the war convinced even the skeptical that a military invasion cannot shake the foundation of the Islamic revolution, which stands upon the will of the Muslim people.

Here I must emphasize, just as was said by the great leader of the Islamic revolution and founder of the Islamic Republic of Iran His Holiness Emam Khomeyni (may his grave be sanctified), "we speak the truth to our people, we are thinking of a lasting peace in the framework of Resolution 598, and this is absolutely not a tactic." We have had no hesitation in striving to achieve a true and comprehensive peace, and His Holiness Ayatollah Khamene'i, the exalted leader of the Islamic revolution, is decisively continuing on the same path outlined by our late Imam to achieve a comprehensive peace.

On this basis, we welcome every sort of initiative and proposal to bring the two nations to a comprehensive peace, especially now when the supporters of usurper Israel are seeking to benefit from the dispersion of the Muslim world to gain greater concessions for themselves, weaken Muslims, strengthen inflammatory Zionism, we do not consider a state of neither war nor peace to be desirable, and we decisively choose the path of a real and comprehensive peace that includes the interests of the Islamic nation.

I direct your attention to this truth, that continued occupation of part of our Islamic land could stop our movement to achieve peace or render it fruitless. You know yourself that after the decision to stop the war we immediately called all of our own forces out of Iraqi territory. You may be assured that this situation has created serious doubts about the good will of the other side for the people of Iran, who have made themselves the legacy of Islam and the revolution, and, just as we were during the period of defense, while on the path of peace we are determined to bring with us the confidence of the people.

Another point is that before contacts between the presidents of the two countries, it is necessary for my representative and your representative to meet in a country that has good relations with both our nations and talk about what must be done to make preparations so the final decision can be made without wasting time. On the one hand, the procedure must be such that Resolution 598, which is a suitable framework for resolving differences, will not be compromised.

I only desire improvement to the best of my power, and my success can come only from God. In him I trust, and I serve him.

Peace be unto him who follows guidance.

Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani

6 Shawal 1410 of the lunar year equivalent to 2/12/69 [4 May 1990]

The full text of the second letter from Saddam Husayn, president of Iraq, is as follows:

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate

Mr. 'Ali Khamene'i, Mr. 'Ali Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani,

I received your letter dated 6 Shawal 1410, in answer to the letter dated 26 Ramadan 1410, equivalent to 21 March 1990, and it has been read more than once by myself and my brothers in the leadership cadre of Iraq. Although we concluded that you have accepted our proposal to hold direct meetings at the presidential level to achieve a decisive and final solution to the problems between the two countries, which were caused by the

conflict or its results, and we are happy about this, the spirit of your message was not what we hoped for, because at every opportunity in the beginning of the message were two-sided messages, and the end was angry.

Gentlemen, when we began writing directly to you, we thought a special situation had come into existence in our relations, and we concluded that direct correspondence and the relationship that would develop on that basis would be more useful for achieving direct meetings and talks, and there is no more beneficial and efficient way to achieve the desired peace between Iran and Iraq, indeed between the Arab nation and Iran. We know, and we are assuming you know that peace cannot be achieved without belief by the other side, and the benefits of peace enjoyed by one side cannot be worthwhile unless those ideas, concepts, and methods also benefit the other side.

Before writing the first letter, we remembered that during the last 10 years the two sides have exchanged the angriest and harshest language, but aside from the effects of that procedure and the nature of its effects, which is one of the dimensions of the war and the struggle between us, that procedure could not bring peace. The expressions you used in your letter included "imposed war," "dull of intellect," or the final sentence "and peace be upon him who follows guidance" instead of the "peace be upon you" that would normally be used in such a letter. Since we want peace only because of its high position in our conscience and for reasons of faith, we want to use ideas and expressions in our letter that conform to humane criteria and our exalted objectives, and we therefore used only expressions acceptable to God and the people. Our doing this at the outset does not mean that there has been a change in all our ideas and views, it means that we want to open a serious channel to get closer to the heart of the other side that will have the power to exert more influence, so that we can serve the peace we see as our noble goal and as being beneficial to our nation and mankind. Since this procedure is more suitable and worthy for such a goal and path, duty therefore requires that we learn a different procedure for writing letters than that used during the war or before it. Moreover, wartime terms and expressions do not carry any more weight for the user than they did during the war, and this procedure does not help prove the truth of an issue. Although the use of suitable expressions in such correspondence does not add to capability and although God's aid is not hastened through trust in him, it will take nothing away from its capability and it will not diminish his established rights. Indeed it will be a window for letting light into hearts that were damaged and tormented by the war, and it will guide those hearts if they get on the road to right action and move in the direction of the good that peace will bring.

Thus what we have found useful in our own correspondence was not to talk about our own rights so that you would not bring in your rights either. Otherwise, suitable psychological preparations for welcoming the two sides to the direct talks might not be made. We are not talking about closing the door to talks on subjects deemed suitable for discussion by both sides, so that in this way each side will see the relation between the first and last step on the path to peace and will see the peace process as an aggregate of the first relevant steps, and perceive it specifically in relationship to what it sees as its rights and what the other side considers its rights.

Now that we are working together for peace, it is appropriate that neither side refer to the past, and in this way no harm will be done to the future, because a policy of dwelling on the past will cause the one who does so to be accused of being dull by our nations, who are more able than we in the recognition of characteristics.

Notwithstanding the above, we do not seek to flee from the past, because you know, or your assessment must be that we can present sufficient documents to give detailed proof of our views in a debate (and who started the war and the hostilities...and how did it start?). You also know that documents and evidence will be more effective, convincing a wider part of our nations and human society, than the speeches and prejudgements of each of the leaders of the two nations. As you know, to raise questions about this subject and to struggle over it as a prelude to talks, in the way you proposed before July 1988 concerning the time sequence and determining who started the war, is a claim that would require time and effort equivalent to the length of the war, in addition to a period of time equivalent to the periods before the war. You also know that each party in the fight has its own date for the start of the war and in this matter, each side cites reasons and practical and legal realities that are different than those of the other side, and it is there that it will become clear who is more in the right, the person who describes the war as the "imposed war" or the person who mentions sending a letter instead of sending his soldiers.

Concerning United Nations Security Council Resolution 598:

In our view, since the time we accepted it when it was issued, meaning July 1987, it has been a comprehensive and permanent plan between the two countries based on what both have agreed to and on the principles and rulings sought within it. We thus stand by Resolution 598 and likewise we insist on its implementation on the basis of this perception. While we are working for peace, we assume that both nations desire peace with the same eagerness and strength and at the same level. Despite this, it is not suitable for either of the two parties to set any precondition for direct meetings other than a serious desire to achieve peace, to be discussed in practical and just terms. It is clear that peace will mean that each country's army will be confined to its own borders and that its presence on every hill, every foot of soil, and every body of water in the other country, which has been tolerated under the conditions and considerations of neither war nor peace, will end.

In your letter you noted that you have withdrawn from Iraqi soil, etc., and of course you were referring to the withdrawal from Halabcheh and the special and recognized circumstances. Our analysis of this is that the withdrawal from your territory by our military forces, which entered it at the beginning of the armed conflict under recognized conditions in the year 1980, took place on 2 June 1982. We announced our decision to withdraw in this form in the audio and visual media on 10 June 1982 and at that time we said that we would withdraw in no more than 10 days, and in practice we did this, yet your forces withdrew from Halabcheh in special wartime conditions, unlike the conditions in which our forces withdrew. Therefore if you regard your withdrawal from Halabcheh, which took place under special circumstances, as evidence of your good will and of the fact that you have no intention or desire to occupy the lands of others, then it is even more pressing that you regard our withdrawal from your territory after Operation Trust in God IV in the southern and central region in July 1988 as another indication, along with others, showing our good will and our lack of desire to occupy one foot of Iranian soil. In any case, for us one of the meanings of peace is that neither side should violate the established rights of the other, and that no side should occupy or usurp one foot of the other side's soil or water. We have always emphasized this procedure, and we have stood by it in the most complex and hostile circumstances. It is therefore clear that as we invite you to adhere to it in an atmosphere of peace talks and, God willing, as a way to achieve peace, we ourselves also adhere to it.

We obtained information from your answer to our ambassador's question to yours at Geneva concerning the contents of your letter about preliminary meetings between representatives of the two sides, a procedure you prefer to prepare for meetings between heads of state. We agree with this procedure, and we have given authority to our ambassador in Geneva, Mr. Barzan Ibrahim al-Takriti, to hold these talks with your ambassador there, Mr. Sirus Naseri.

In our view, it will be the mission of the representatives to exchange views about the positions of the two sides so each side can become familiar with the positions of the other side concerning the issues before the two nations. Hopefully the representatives will be able to agree on some aspects of the question and this will provide a clear picture at the time of the presidential meetings and will make things easier, and whatever they do not agree on will be delegated for a final determination to the meeting of presidents. Concerning the place the chiefs will meet, we are still waiting for your proposal, because in your answer we did not find a decisive view concerning our proposed meeting place, noble Mecca. This can be one of the topics discussed by the representatives. As for the question of who is to attend the meeting of presidents, we likewise believe that if you in practice accept the idea of a meeting of presidents, and if you are determined to trust in God with us for its achievement, the meeting at the presidential level must include the principle decision-making authorities in the two nations, because our presence together at the presidential level is considered a test of our seriousness about reaching a final solution to the issue in a way that is acceptable to both sides, and if, with God's help, this is achieved, it will be followed by a lasting and comprehensive peace, and because the absence at these meetings of some of the main decision-making authorities who can say yes or no could have an effect on the implementation of what is decided, as well as the level of commitment to it, because their absence from the meetings will neither secure their views nor will signatories to the agreement have the desired assurance, and the decisions made at the presidential meetings might be left unimplemented or delayed. Moreover, in practice peace begins at the point where its fabric begins to be woven by the weavers of the peace, and when it has been firmly established in people's hearts. Therefore, whoever takes part in bringing about peace from the beginning will see himself ethically and psychologically responsible for implementing it and adhering to it. Moreover, the presence of all decision-making centers will block any excuses that might block the peace process after agreement has been reached concerning it. For this reason we repeat again our adherence to our proposal that the presidential meetings should be attended on our side by the chief of the Revolutionary Command Council, the president of the republic, the vice-president of the Revolutionary Command Council, and on the Iranian side by 'Ali Khamene'i and 'Ali Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani.

And God is behind the objective

And peace be upon you

Saddam Husayn

Baghdad 24 Shawal 1410 equivalent to 19 May 1990

The full text of the answer from Hojjat ol-Eslam val-Moslemin Hashemi-Rafsanjani, president of the republic of Iran, to the second letter from the president of the republic of Iraq.

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate

Praise God and greetings to the prophet of God and his family and noble loved ones.

Mr. Saddam Husayn,

I have received your letter dated 29 Ordibehesht 1369 (24 Shawal 1410). Since the probability that your government is serious about peace is significantly apparent in the letter, we are also answering the second letter, but after this we expect that we will waste no more time with the exchange of letters except where necessary, and that the two nations will suffer and be injured no more under the effects of the state of neither war nor peace. We pray that this will be the last letter and that we will see serious practical steps on the path of peace.

There were complaints in your letter about some of the expressions and terms in our answer. We are not happy either that painful matters arise in correspondence about peace, but unfortunately the first stone in this edifice was

laid by you in your first letter, with the intention of removing the residue of conflict and smoothing the path of friendship, such as:

In the first letter the claim was made, our side is the Arab nation, and much fruitless effort was made to overturn it throughout the war.

In those days when you spoke of the steadfastness front, you yourself said that persons such as some of the kings, sheikhs, and emirs who stood behind you throughout the war were not the "Arab nation," and you said, wrote, and cited a sufficient amount of evidence to reveal their essence.

You probably haven't forgotten that most of the governments who were your allies in the steadfastness front were on our side during this conflict or were at least neutral, and you also know well the position of the people, and especially the sincere Islamic forces.

We were also invited in the first letter from the position of the custodian of Palestine and the Palestinians and the forces standing against imperialist aggression, although those preparing the letter are not likely to be unaware of the Islamic Republic of Iran's concern and leadership on this issue, for the Islamic revolution of Iran is the first target of imperialist aggression, and if the letter had been written to inspire confidence it would have been better if this reality had not been overlooked.

Moreover, in your letter the usual formalities in official and routine communications were not observed. There were other negative and hurtful expressions as well in your first and second letters, but it is better if we let bygones be bygones. If you had not opened the door to complaining, we would not have written these things, for we are now thinking of peace and not disputes and letters about war.

Concerning officials taking part in the talks, it is good to make it clear now that His Holiness Ayatollah Khamene'i, the chief jurisconsult of the Islamic revolution, will not take part in the talks. Of course the president of the republic and the other officials do not act against the views of the leadership, and they obtain the view of the leadership on important matters. In this case, if the president of the republic takes part in the talks, it will definitely be with full authority and the decisions will certainly be implemented and you need not worry about the concerns you expressed in your letter.

To establish good will and seriousness about peace, in your second letter you compared the withdrawal of our forces after the acceptance of Resolution 598 and the situation following Operation Beyt ol-Moqaddas with the retaking of the city of Khorramshahr and the tactical withdrawals at the end of the war.

I wish you had not raised this topic, which must be explained further. You yourself know that even after the capture of Khorramshahr your military forces remained at the secondary fronts in many places on Iranian soil, such as the cities of Naftshahr, Khosravi, Mehran, and tens of villages and heights with favorable characteristics for fighting with the southern front, and most of those points have been occupied by you from the beginning of the war until today. It is unlikely that your commanders kept the truth from you.

Although the need to avoid taking controversial and provocative positions in letters has been emphasized repeatedly, in your second letter references were made to certain claims which are not compatible with these points of emphasis. You know that laws are not based on personal desires, but on laws and recognized regulations. We believe that one of the most important principles guaranteeing a lasting and honorable peace between the two countries is the principle of honoring commitments and respecting international agreements.

We take a positive view of your emphasis on the credibility of Resolution 598, but it is worth mentioning that this resolution is clear and free of ambiguity, and it can be implemented based on the procedures proposed by the secretary-general, who is responsible for its implementation.

We do not consider it appropriate for either side to repeat the unhelpful positions whose ineffectiveness was made clear in the several rounds of talks supervised by the secretary-general, to talk about the problem of designating the one responsible for starting the war, which is one of the secretary-general's key responsibilities for establishing a comprehensive and lasting peace between the two countries, to block the way to gradual steps and practical measures to achieve a comprehensive and final peace, to make groundless claims, or anything else of this nature that is incompatible with good will or peace-seeking goals.

Unfortunately inappropriate statements that were made in the resolution by Arab leaders in Baghdad concerning Resolution 598 and the rights of Iran and Iraq and have been echoed could be a problem for assuring confidence in good will and peaceful intentions, and need to be redressed.

My representative, Mr. Sirus Naseri, is talking with your representative. His mission is to discuss preliminary issues to implement the resolution and to prepare for the resumption of peaceful relations between the two Muslim nations of Iran and Iraq, and I have asked him to refrain from taking part in formal and marginal discussions that will waste time and prolong the existing situation. It is necessary to emphasize that meetings between the presidents will be appropriate and advisable only when they are assured of positive results in the talks between those two. Otherwise, the negative effects could do more damage than the existing situation.

Because of the negative positions taken by the Saudi leaders concerning the Islamic revolution of Iran in the past and now, the domain of the government of Saudi Arabia is not now a suitable place for peace talks, and in view of the fact that there are numerous sites, we will

have no problem selecting a suitable site for the two sides, and it is better that we leave that decision to the eve of the start of the talks, and we agree with your proposal that our representatives designate a site during the preliminary negotiations.

It is natural that the secretary-general of the United Nations will be kept informed of the progress of the preliminary negotiations, and that at the necessary times and in the necessary instances his views and initiatives will be employed to strengthen the peace. Confining the peace process to the direct talks (as was mentioned in your second letter) will be avoided and we will not close off other paths to ourselves, including the main road which has already been partly traveled.

In conclusion, I ask almighty God to give us complete success to stop hostilities, pull up the roots of the fighting and smooth the path of the two nations and the rest of the people and governments of the area for peace and cooperation for the welfare of the Islamic nation and in the holy war against the enemies of Islam and the Muslims, and especially the complete liberation of the Islamic land of Palestine.

My success can come only from God. In him I trust, and I serve him.

Tehran—Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani

28 Khordad 1369 [18 June 1990], equivalent to 24 Ziqa'idah in the lunar calendar

3 Oct

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[Text] In the previous issue two letters from the president of Iraq and the answers from the president of Iran were printed. In this issue you will read the full text of the third, fourth, fifth, and sixth letters from the president of Iraq and the answers from Hojjat ol-Eslam val-Moslemin Hashemi-Rafsanjani, which led to Saddam Husayn's acceptance of the 1975 accord. **Text of Saddam Husayn's third letter to our nation's president**

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate

Say: Work, and God will see what you do, and his prophet and the believers. Almighty God has spoken.

Mr. 'Ali Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani, dated 4/25/1369 [16 July 1990]. President of the republic, peace be upon you.

To expedite the peace process I announce to you my desire to send a representative from us to you for a face-to-face discussion concerning the establishment of peace between the two countries and to obtain your views concerning whatever would facilitate the implementation of peace in Iran and Iraq.

According to your preference, this meeting can be public or private.

Saddam Husayn,

Baghdad 24 Zulhijjah 1410 in the lunar calendar, equivalent to 16 July 1990

Text of the president of Iraq's fourth letter to Hojjat ol-Eslam Hashemi-Rafsanjani:

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate

Your Excellency Mr. 'Ali Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani, respected president of the Islamic Republic of Iran, peace be upon you.

After careful study of what must be studied and after a careful study of the change in relations, the current situation between Iran and Iraq, the dangers that have overtaken the region and the environment, and for the purpose of continuing our role in making the initiative for activities that create more extensive opportunities for achieving peace and based on the national and humanitarian responsibility placed upon our shoulders by our great ideological principles, we find ourselves in a position to offer a new proposal. Since this time the proposal takes in all the substantive matters set forth in detail and in one place and framework by Security Council Resolution 598, we hope it will be dealt with on that same level, and that the enthusiasm for it will be serious and strong enough that the two nations will not lose the opportunity to live in peaceful conditions on which there is agreement even on the details, and this is intended to keep at bay the plans of the enemies of the nations who are trying, God forbid, to return conditions to where the two countries were before August of 1988, and in this case whatever one lets go of will be lost without gaining anything. Devilish forces who are searching in the darkness, and who also have cunning devices can cite the fact that legally the war between the two countries has not ended and drive the two countries into the fires of war again, and as you know, although a war can begin from apparently simple matters, it is like a fearsome fire that erupts from a single spark.

The insurgents waiting to ambush us, perhaps because they are unable to achieve their goals without engaging the two nations or one of them in war, and perhaps also because of their anxiety about the weapons stockpiled with the two parties to the conflict, and perhaps even because of their desire to know the effectiveness of the weapons, or some of them, will use their filthy implements to ignite the spark, and they might not even have that much trouble doing this at a front that is only 1,200 kilometers long on land and about 800 kilometers long at sea. These fronts have the possibility for scattered sparks to ignite from tens of weapons. Therefore, a lot of people need not open fire to start a war, because it is enough for one person, for any reason and under the influence of any factor, to do such a thing, and it would draw a large mass into the fire. In this way great damage would be done to all, and this would benefit no one other than the lowest people, and, as I said, this would end by damaging our two nations.

Since this situation is not the goal sought by either Iran or Iraq, according to what has been said by the representatives of the two nations, duty demands not only that we achieve peace, but we must do so as soon as possible to remove from our affairs the possibility of realizing the dreams of oppressors and men of ill will. In conclusion to all these things, I will mention the following points:

1. I again put forth the idea of immediate meetings between the leaders of the two nations at a place agreed to to discuss topics upon whose agreement a comprehensive and permanent peace can be based.

2. The discussion and agreement must include all remaining subjects, and the presentation of any new topic after obtaining comprehensive agreement by either side without the consent of the other is rejected and will be seen as an avoidance of agreement. Secondary items agreed to must be extracted from the provisions of Resolution 598 and this agreement is based on the perception and with emphasis on the fact that the main goal of Resolution 598 is to achieve comprehensive and permanent peace through talks and not anything else, and based on the fact that the parameters of the general agreements are not subject to modification, and they are a complete and connected transaction; the deletion of a single paragraph would mean the deletion of all of them.

3. It does not matter where the talks and the agreement begin, but agreement on each of the parameters or on a number of the parameters of the topics under discussion, as provided in item number two in this letter depends on agreement to the other paragraphs. Despite this each of the two parties to the talks has the right to answer any kind of unilateral statement by the other side in a manner it deems appropriate, including the right to reject partial agreement to any one of the topics discussed.

4. Withdrawals will take place no more than two months after the date of final approval of the comprehensive agreement by the two sides, and the sooner the better. Likewise, because of the inseparable relationship between each step taken by each party to the conflict in carrying out its treaty obligations, agreement will be reached in such a way that each step will be answered by a suitable or equivalent step from the other side.

5. We also consider the matter of prisoners to be covered by the Geneva Convention, and on this basis we assume that their release must take place based on the provisions of this convention. Two years have now passed since the time of the release of the prisoners based on the aforementioned convention, in the sense that two years have passed since the cease fire.

Having said this, and to facilitate the peace process, in view of the above principles and concepts we see no obstacle to the release of the prisoners in the framework of the time stipulated in paragraph four, two months after the final approval of the agreement, as the maximum time needed for planning, and the sooner this is done the better.

6. Dialogue on the Shatt al-'Arab must be conducted under the following three headings:

A. Iraq should have complete sovereignty as a legitimate historical right.

B. Iraq should have sovereignty over the Shatt al-'Arab and the Thalweg line law should be applied regarding navigational rights between Iraq and Iran including fishing rights, joint administration of navigation, and sharing profits thereof.

C. The referral of the Shatt al-'Arab issue in arbitration according to a formula to be worked out by the two sides with each committing itself to prior abidances by its ruling. Pending the resolution of the issue through arbitration, the Shatt al-'Arab is to be cleared so as to make it fit for navigation in accordance with the formula to be decided by the two sides.

Agreement will be on the understanding that the two sides will together decide on any of the three headings listed above, considering that the first heading represents Iraq's right and our understanding is that the second heading represents Iran's wish.

7. Agreement to eliminate Paragraph Six from Resolution 598 and deliberately ignoring is not only of no use for peace, it places obstacles in the way of peace, and may even lead to grudges, enmity, and revenge-seeking in the future, while peace opens a different path before the two nations of Iran and Iraq. In this regard, it is necessary that we convey the decisions we will make officially and in writing to the secretary-general of the United Nations.

8. Implementation will not begin for any of the measures described in the future peace accord between Iran and Iraq before all the necessary legal steps are taken to approve it in accordance with the constitutions of each of the two nations in such a way that in legal terms it will be inviolable and definitive in its particulars and its totality. Moreover, it is necessary that the accord's approved documents be submitted to the secretary-general of the United Nations simultaneously at a time decided by the two sides.

9. The future peace accord between Iran and Iraq will include all the areas of agreement, and to expedite the completion of the peace accord, the accord in question may include, in addition to new issues, issues of land borders and other legal issues that are decided, some former agreements which have been approved in the course of the history of relations between the two nations, and whatever has been decided in the past, without deletion of the paragraphs in this letter.

10. The agreements must include clear principles in the area of establishing good neighborly relations and nonintervention in domestic affairs, and respect by each nation of the other nation's right to choose the political, economic, and social system it wants, and the decisive

and unhesitating recognition of the right of passage of shipping in the international waters of the gulf and the Strait of Hormuz.

11. It might be appropriate for an agreed international authority to ensure the proper implementation of the accord, such as the Security Council.

12. Knowing that international conditions are not favorable to permit expectations of aid for reconstruction, we agree that the international aid provided in Paragraph Eight of Resolution 598 should be divided equally between Iran and Iraq.

To facilitate contacts and in light of the positive change in relations between the two nations, we believe that our embassies in Tehran and Baghdad should be reopened, especially since the embassies were operated during wartime and were only closed in September 1987.

Mr. President of the Republic, what we believe will achieve a permanent and comprehensive peace between Iran and Iraq is just what has been said in this letter. The foregoing proposal is comprehensive, and its parts are connected and inseparable, and its achievement is possible by drawing from experience and also through talks by our representatives in Geneva, Mr. Naseri and Mr. Barzan.

Everything is thus clear, to the point that there is no room for further explanation, and we desire a true, comprehensive and rapid peace, and that is it.

And God is Great.

With good wishes for you and through you to the leadership cadre of Iran.

Bagdad, 8 Moharram 1411 in the lunar year, equivalent to 30 June 1990.

Full text of Iraqi president's fifth letter to Hojjat ol-Eslam val-Moslemin Hashemi-Rafsanjani.

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate

Mr. 'Ali Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani, Respected President of the Islamic Republic of Iran

Peace be upon you,

On Friday morning 3 August 1990, I received a summary of your political activities and some of what was issued by the government of Iran (the statement from the Foreign Ministry of Iran, your meeting with military commanders, and published reports about it). Despite that, to emphasize the feeling of humanitarian responsibility towards the nation of Iran, in addition to the national responsibility to our nation, I deemed it advisable to write to you again. On 16 July 1990, I proposed to you that your receive a delegate from us on a matter pertaining to maximum expedition of the peace process. When your answer was delayed concerning the designation of a time to accept our delegate I undertook to dispatch a written letter and I assigned a delegate to deliver it to you so that as you studied the letter you could hold the appropriate talks and discussions with your brothers in the leadership cadre concerning the concepts, views, and proposals in it, and in this way we would learn of your positions about it after your circumstances permit you to send back our delegate, since so far you have not set a date other than the date we proposed (Monday, 30 July 1990) to receive him, and before this letter on 2 August 1990 we sent a letter to you on our own initiative through your representative in Geneva, Mr. Naseri. We did all these things not only to show our desire for peace, but to emphasize our interest in peace as soon as possible so that we can keep the two countries out of the whirlwind of change in the region and in the world and away from the dangerous developments that are likely.

Mr. President of the republic, these measures are being taken entirely because I am certain that warlike people are able to perceive one another and each other's objectives more quickly, even though they earned the attribute of being warlike during an armed conflict with each other.

Now, after the Kuwait episode, a crisis is on the horizon and it is possible that people who are not patient and tolerant enough could be drawn into the conflict. One of the most difficult and perhaps also one of the most dangerous things to do is when at some time thoughts and behavior are legitimately working for a goal or goals and then they reach for more distant goals which were not part of the original analysis, and a deadline that cannot be extended was also set for withdrawal.

Our letter dated 30 July 1990 contained specific solutions and workable proposals, not a general statement, concerning each of the provisions of Resolution 598, to which both Iran and Iraq have committed themselves. We are still waiting for your agreement to set a date to receive our two delegates, whom we have named for you (the foreign minister and our permanent representative in Geneva), so that, God willing, just as is hoped, after talks with you and with those you designate, we will be on the eve of a fateful peace.

Therefore, if your desire is the same as what has been announced, and we know this, and our answer to that is all the things I have noted, then slipping on the path of momentary developments which have to do with inter-Arab relations and which revolve around their past and present, your efforts will be deflected from the goal and its image will be blurred.

If the image of the goal is blurred, it will be difficult for us to make preparations, something that if expedited would achieve the peace, and it might even lead inexperienced people in a direction that distorts the issue.

In any case, I neither predict nor hope that persons such as yourself and your brothers in Iran's leadership cadre, who have experienced an eight-year war will waver and turn to an issue that is neither in the interest of Iran nor one of the goals of the people of Iran. Without hesitation,

my minimum assessment is that you are aware of the motivation for the statements that have been made since Thursday morning 2 August 1990, both within and outside the region, and you have previously evaluated its aspects. We have also evaluated them and we all know their motivations.

You know, however, that all of them, once they realize that their words will accomplish nothing against the great nation of Iraq, which is determined to achieve its rights and to deal with extortion, dastardliness, and plots, by making use of their known means and resources they can correct their situation. Someone who exports weapons to us and says they have stopped the shipments can correct the situation by resuming the exports, and someone who breaks economic relations with us can resolve the situation by reestablishing relations, but if Iran and Iraq both deviate from their proper position, their nations will be deprived of an historic opportunity to achieve peace and to establish their lawful rights, and whenever the course is shaken in what has been done so far in our talks for this purpose, which offered assurance in the beginning concerning the measures we were both taking, the damage will be very great, and I have no such wish for you or for myself.

In any case, if what we know and your announced goals are to hold talks, all of your goals are just the same as we are emphasizing. What we have announced is precisely all our goals. We must therefore hasten to meet, and you must act quickly to set a date to receive our representatives. It is through this way and only through this way that lawful objectives may be achieved and the peace which is the high aim of the two nations will be attained.

God is great and peace be upon you.

Saddam Husayn

Baghdad 12 Moharram 1411 in the lunar year equivalent to 3 August 1990

Hojjat ol-Eslam val-Moslemin Rafsanjani's Answer to the Iraqi President's Fifth Letter

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate

Praise God, Lord of the world and prayers and peace upon Mohammad his prophet and his pure family

Your Excellency Mr. Saddam Husayn respected president of the republic,

Your letter dated 5/12/1369 [3 August 1990] has been received. Although the principle of your letter was apparently aimed at advancing the peace talks, some of its contents are regrettable.

Before everything else I consider it necessary once more to emphasize the desire of the Islamic Republic of Iran to achieve a just and lasting peace. I hope you have also come to this conclusion. After accepting Resolution 598 with full awareness of our responsibilities for peace and its consequences, we began a sincere movement and we determined that nothing other than what pertains to the lawful and unchanging rights of the Iranian nation would detain us in our quest for peace, and we have adhered to this. The approach we have taken throughout the talks supervised by the secretary-general of the United Nations, our answers to your letters, and the talks being held by my representative and yours in Geneva must have made this clear to you.

At the beginning of the talks between representatives of the two countries in Geneva, we emphasized expediting the quest for peace and taking practical steps to implement Resolution 598 instead of writing letters and holding long talks, and now also we believe that making progress on the substance of the talks rather than on their form, and making efforts to clarify our position on those issues that are the key to the gate of peace will bring us close to our goal, a goal that will eliminate the potential for ruining our present situation, along with the false situations created by the enemies of Islam that might develop under the current special circumstances in the world and the region. This is what will make peace available to the two neighbor countries, and forces occupied with each other will be able to work for the vital needs of the two nations and their basic responsibilities for reconstruction, peace, and regional security.

In view of the above, I deem it necessary to make the following points concerning the contents of your letters dated 5/12/1369 (3 August 1990), the unsigned letter dated 5/8/1369 (30 July 1990) and the letter dated 4/25/1369 (16 July 1990).

1. Meetings and talks at a higher level than the ones being held now in Geneva will be acceptable when in the current talks in Geneva we have achieved specific results, which will be the basis for the next stages, but you know that in Geneva we have made no significant progress other than greater familiarity with one another's views, yet the mission of our representatives and yours was to talk about substantive matters. For this reason, as we have said before, meetings between the two presidents can only be useful when important and key issues have been clarified and solved. Otherwise, failure in the talks between the two presidents could have more damaging effects on peace and make it more inaccessible to the two nations.

2. In your letter dated 5/8/1369 [30 July 1990] you made proposals concerning Arvandrud, and although they wavered from your previous statements, for you it is clear that they are unacceptable to us.

Our specific proposal is to use the 1975 accord for the peace talks, because without adherence to previous treaties, especially that treaty that bears your own signature, there can be no expectation that confidence in what is being said today will be created.

3. Two months have been set as the time limit for withdrawal from occupied Iranian land, which is not justifiable, because this is something that could be done in a day or two if done with good intentions, while in his own plan the secretary-general of the United Nations

allowed two weeks as the necessary time, along with three months for the release of prisoners.

4. It is remarkable that our correct position with regard to the occupation of Kuwait by the Iraqi army was criticized by resorting to Arabism. Here the most obvious issues are being ignored, such as setting up conditions for a greater presence of foreign forces in the area, violating the peace and tranquility, creating problems for the Muslim people, Islamic solidarity and neighborly relations, disruption of the region's security and stability, and changes to conditions at the front and international agreements. How can it be justified that a letter that begins in the name of almighty God and ends with the inspiring slogan God is Great puts the principles of race and nation ahead of the the principles of Islam and belief?

These verses are unequivocal: "Indeed the believers are brothers," "Indeed your nation is one nation and..." "We created you from one man and woman and made you nations and tribes, that you may know one another, and the most honored of you in the sight of God is he who is the most righteous." [Quoting the Koran]

It is sufficient for every Muslim to subordinate in his positions ideas of race, geography, and language to Islamic principles. You know better than most about the Kuwaiti government's policies during the war and their consistent oppression towards the Islamic revolution of Iran, but our positions are not connected to individuals, they arise from our principles.

5. There is no doubt that during a time when peace talks are being held between the two countries, an unimaginable assault on a neighbor country without the least notification or coordination, with its extraordinary effects and consequences in relation to us, could weaken our confidence and create serious reservations about the motivations for the talks over the past few months, especially since during this period we have not seen measures that would be indicative of good will, and as before we have seen insistence on continued occupation of our land and even opposition to a minor issue like putting out the fires in oil wells that are wasting the capital of the Islamic nation and produce no result for you.

6. The tone of your latest letter is not appropriate for the negotiation process. The ineffectiveness of the tone and language used with regard to our Muslim and revolutionary nation has been taught in the past, and use has been made of an analysis of the new positions of your former friends and supporters to persuade us, which is not appropriate, because you know that we have been through all these phases and put them behind us. We have proven that more than anything else we count on the faith, struggles, and support of the people, and we do not place that much value on the anger and kindness of others that we would base our plans for life and our important positions and decisions on them. We are not seeking to use the current conditions, and we want nothing other than our legitimate and lawful rights, which we have stressed at every phase of the talks.

7. We completely accept the point you stressed in your letter concerning speedy action towards peace, but it will not expedite the peace process to offer superficial proposals and raise the level of the talks without substantive progress. We must adhere to the treaties between the two countries which have been officially recognized internationally and not demand more than our lawful rights, because it is not conceivable that what could not be achieved in eight years of war can be achieved in talks. If we accept this, to define the borders we need only refer to the 1975 accord, and if we do not accept it is better that we turn the task of implementing the resolution over to the United Nations and the Security Council while preserving the Geneva connection for exchanging views on common issues.

And peace be upon you

Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani

16 Moharram 1411 in the lunar year equivalent to 5/17/69 [8 August 1990]

Iraqi President's Sixth Letter to Hojjat ol-Eslam val-Moslemin Hashemi-Rafsanjani

Your Excellency Mr. 'Ali Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani, president of the Islamic Republic of Iran, with trust in Almighty God and for the purpose of removing the obstacles in the path of opening brotherly relations with all Muslims and with that group of Muslims in the neighbor nation of Iran who chose brotherhood and in the interest of creating an atmosphere for serious enthusiasm with all believers to fight wicked forces who bear ill will towards Muslims and the Arab nation, to keep Iran and Iraq away from the blackmail and trickery of international warmongers and their agents in the area, in keeping with our spirit of initiative which was announced on 12 August 1990 with the aim of achieving a comprehensive and permanent peace in the area, to take away the excuses that are blocking enthusiasm coming from those who always seek excuses and pessimism, and so that none of Iraq's combat capabilities will be left out of the great battlefield and to mobilize these capabilities to achieve the goals upon which the Muslims and noble Arabs are in agreement, to prevent interference in the trenches, to remove doubts and hesitation so that people of good will can find their way to establish natural relations between Iran and Iraq, and as the result of the talks between the two countries which have been taking place directly since your first letter dated 21 April 1990 up until your latest letter dated 8 August 1990, and also as a final and clear solution that leaves no excuse for those who seek excuses, we have made the following decisions:

1. We agree to your proposal in the letter of reply dated 8 August 1990 delivered by your representative Mr. Sirus Naseri to Mr. Barzan Ibrahim al-Takriti, our representative in Geneva, stating the necessity of working on the basis of the 1975 accord which connects it with the principles in our

30 July 1990 letter, especially with regard to the exchange of prisoners and paragraphs six and seven of Security Council Resolution 598.

2. Based on Paragraph One of this letter and the contents of our 30 July 1990 letter, we are prepared to send a delegation to Tehran or have one sent by you to Baghdad to prepare the necessary agreements and make preparations for its signing at an agreed level.

3. As a sign of our good will we will begin our withdrawal on Friday 17 August 1990, and other than a symbolic force alongside border officials and police who will carry out routine duties under normal conditions, we will remove our forces from the areas opposite you along the border.

4. An immediate and comprehensive exchange of prisoners of war will take place in whatever numbers exist in Iran and Iraq through land border points at Khaneqin, Qasr-e Shirin, and other ways that are decided. We will begin this measure on 17 August 1990.

Brother 'Ali Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani, president of the republic,

With this decision of ours, all things have now become clear, and in this way everything you wanted and relied upon is being achieved. There is nothing left to do but exchange documents so that from a position of responsibility we can be true witnesses together of a new life filled with cooperation in the shadow of the principles of Islam, respecting one another's rights, and in this way we will drive from our shores those who are trying to take advantage of a chaotic situation. Perhaps we will even cooperate in the world with the result that the gulf will become a sea of peace and security, without foreign ships and forces waiting to ambush us. Moreover, this cooperation could include other aspects of life. God is Great, and God be praised.

Saddam Husayn, president of the republic of Iraq

23 Moharram 1411 in the lunar year, 14 August 1990

Answer from Hojjat ol-Eslam val-Moslemin Hashemi-Rafsanjani, President of the Islamic Republic of Iran, to the Iraqi President's Sixth Letter

In the Name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate

Praise be unto God for what is good, and thanks be unto God for what is important

Respected President of Iraq, Your Excellency Mr. Saddam Husayn:

Your letter dated 5/23/1369 (14 August 1990).

The announcement of your renewed acceptance of the 1975 accord has paved the way for implementing Resolution 598, resolving the problems in that framework, and transforming the existing cease fire to a permanent and stable peace.

We see the beginning of the withdrawal of your forces from occupied Iranian territory as evidence of your sincerity and seriousness to make peace with the Islamic Republic of Iran, and fortunately the release of prisoners has also begun at the prescribed time, and we hope that the withdrawal of your soldiers will take place according to the announced timetable and that the release of prisoners on both sides will continue with determination and be completed as quickly as possible.

Just as we have informed you through our representative in Geneva, we are now prepared to receive your representative in Tehran, and we hope that with the continuation of the existing positive atmosphere and good will we will be able to achieve a comprehensive and stable peace preserving all the lawful rights of the two nations and the two Islamic countries.

And peace be upon you

Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani, president of the Islamic Republic of Iran

*"Thousands' of Refugees Arrive From Kuwait

91AS0105C London KEYHAN in Persian 11 Oct 90 p 1

[Text] Following the hardships imposed by the Iraqi forces in implementing the regulations to change the identity cards of Kuwaiti citizens to those of Iraqi citizens, thousands of Kuwaitis escaped to Iran through the Shalamcheh border to avoid losing their Kuwaiti identities. The Iraqis do not prevent their departure in an attempt to empty Kuwait of Kuwaitis.

On Monday (8 October), foreign news agencies reported from the Iranian border that so far 5,297 Kuwaiti citizens had arrived in Iran. On Monday alone, 1,358 Kuwaitis in 429 private cars and six minibuses entered Iran through Shalamcheh.

The Islamic Republic radio had announced on 6 October that 2,760 Kuwaitis had come to Iran. The escape of Kuwaitis to Iran continues.

*POW Exchange Remains on Hold

91AS0105D London KEYHAN in Persian 11 Oct 90 p 2

[Text] Although a month has passed since the halt in the exchange of POWs between Iran and Iraq, contrary to the statements of Manuchehr Mottaki, international deputy foreign minister of the Islamic government, the Iraq regime has not agreed to resume the exchange of POWs.

In order to force Iraq to exchange the prisoners, the regime of the Islamic Republic has asked the International Red Cross committee to follow up on the issue of the release of the prisoners in accordance with Articles Six, Nine, and 11 of the Geneva Convention. But the Iraqis avoid any inclinations to exchange the remainder of the prisoners. The halt to the exchange of war prisoners took place after the sudden change in the policy of the regime of the Islamic Republic towards Iraq with regard to its involvement in the Persian Gulf crisis and the halt in sending foodstuff to that country.

Three days after the visit to Tehran of Tariq 'Aziz, the Iraqi foreign minister, who faced the warm welcome of the officials of the Islamic Republic, under the pressure of the United States, Turkey, Syria, and other countries in the region, the regime of the Islamic Republic was forced to abandon its friendly position towards Iraq and seriously support the resolution of the UN Security Council in regard to the economic embargo against Iraq.

Following the change in position of the regime of the Islamic Republic, without warning, the Iraqis halted the exchange of prisoners.

To solve this problem and resume the exchange of prisoners, 15 days ago, Manuchehr Mottaki was sent to Baghdad, but no solution was found. Upon his return to Tehran, Mottaki announced that the Iraqis claim that only two groups of Iranian prisoners remain in Iraq and have not yet been exchanged. The two groups include:

- Prisoners who have committed violations during their period of captivity in the prisoner-of-war camps in Iraq, those who have been tried and now are serving their sentences, and those who are being interrogated and tried for violations that they have committed.
- The second group is comprised of those prisoners who have not expressed a desire to return to Iran. Mottaki announced that in any case, the Iraqis will be responsible for every individual Iranian prisoner who has not yet returned home.

In Tehran, it is said that Manuchehr Mottaki avoided stating the facts in this regard, because after the exchange of warm and friendly letters between Saddam Husayn and Hasremi-Rafsanjani, if there had appeared no essential problems in the relations between the two sides, to dismiss the remaining sentences or the interrogations and trials of the war prisoners who had committed violations in the prison camps, such as trying to escape, resisting mistreatment by the prison guards, or expressing patriotic sentiments, would have seemed natural and normal. Now, by refusing to free the Iranian prisoners, the Iraqis are revealing their dissatisfaction with the change in the policy of the regime of the Islamic Republic.

It should be pointed out that the number of Iraqi prisoners still in Iran is several times that of the remaining Iranian prisoners.

Release of Sudanese Prisoners

Last Wednesday, the regime of the Islamic Republic freed 24 Sudanese prisoners and handed them over to Colonel Sulayman Muhammad Sulayman, a member of the revolution command council of Sudan, who is in Tehran. These Sudanese had fought at the side of the Iraqi soldiers against Iranian soldiers during the Iran-Iraq war.

*New Bank Hours Create Difficulties

91AS0105E London KEYHAN in Persian 11 Oct 90 p 2

[Text] The change in banking hours in Tehran has resulted in the widespread discontent and protest of bank employees. Bank hours have been moved up since two weeks ago by an hour and a half to help Tehran traffic.

With the delay of an hour and a half in the work schedule of the Tehran banks, most bank employees who previously held a second job, such as driving a taxi or working in a private establishment, after having finished their day's work at the bank have had to give up their second job and with it a major portion of their income.

The situation of female bank employees has become much more difficult. With the new working hours, they are practically unable to attend to their house work. According to a report by IRNA, 80 percent of bank employees are in the lower ranks and, because of their low income, have needed to work a second job in the afternoons. They are now obliged to give up that job. This has greatly reduced their income, and they face financial problems.

The only response of the director of Saderat Bank to the protests of the employees has been: "They will soon get used to the new working hours."

*Unavailability of Gas Reported in Tehran

91AS0105F London KEYHAN in Persian 11 Oct 90 p 2

[Text] The shortage of gasoline and failure to deliver it to the gasoline stations in Tehran has caused the closure of many gasoline stations.

The closure of gasoline stations in various parts of Tehran last week caused traffic jams on streets on which gasoline stations were open. Although the officials of the oil company announced that only 13 stations had been closed throughout Tehran, more than 45 gasoline stations were closed, and have complained about the national oil company being unable to send them gasoline. The national oil company claimed that these 13 stations were closed in order to clean the storage tanks, for essential repairs, as a result of the debts of their owners, or because they were located along the subway course. However, the owners of the stations maintained that the claims of the national oil company are untrue. Rather, the shortage of gasoline and trucks to carry gasoline to the stations are the main contributors to this situation.

*Problems of Transport, Delivery of Goods Persist

91AS0105H London KEYHAN in Persian 11 Oct 90 p 4

[Text] In the first five months of this year (1369 [21 March 1990-20 March 1991]), about 6.2 million tons of imported goods have been unloaded in the ports of the country. Compared to a similar period last year, this marks an increase of 49.3 percent. In exchange for the import of 6.2 million tons of goods at the ports of the

country, in the period in question, 836,000 tons of goods have been loaded at these ports destined for other countries, which is double that of a similar period last year. The officials of the Ministry of Roads and Transport of the Islamic Republic announced that at the present time, the inventory of the warehouses of the national ports and shipping organization has increased from 510,000 tons last year to 1.3 million tons.

Reports from the Islamic Republic indicate that in the past six months, despite the increase in the volume of Iranian commercial purchases from foreign countries, the Islamic Republic's transportation resources for shipping have increased, and for this reason, under the present circumstances, large amounts of goods purchased by Iranian merchants are being stored in the ports of the exporting countries, and the Iranian importers suffer greatly in this regard. A steel importer told KEYHAN that many merchants have suffered substantial losses due to the delay in the transport of purchased goods by the Iranian ships from the ports of the selling countries as a result of the bad shipping policies of the Islamic Republic. This same merchant pointed out that at the present time, transportation vehicles available to drivers are so limited that it is impossible to transport the imported goods from the national ports to Tehran and other cities. For this reason, while the warehouses of the ports are full of goods, there is a shortage of some of these items in Tehran, and prices increase daily. Some time ago, RESALAT, published in the Islamic Republic, quoting Engineer Madad, the deputy minister of roads and transports, wrote that the amount of available goods in the warehouses of the ports is unprecedented in the past 10 years. This newspaper added that, speaking in a press conference of the "unknown economic soldiers," the deputy minister of roads and transports of the Islamic Republic pleaded with the truck owners to take steps to transport these goods.

The deputy minister of roads and transports of the Islamic Republic announced that the private sector can participate along with the government sector in building cargo terminals, cold storage houses, and silos, as well as transporting fuel and equipping the ports.

He added: "Considering that the failure to directly transport packaged goods such as rice, sugar, and fertilizer has been taken into consideration, these goods must first be unloaded in the warehouses and then gradually transported to consumer markets. Therefore, applicants who wish to engage in this task can sign contracts to do so."

*Book Reveals Planned Assassination of Late Shah

91AS0105A London KEYHAN in Persian 11 Oct 90 p 1

[Text] In his recently published book, General Vladimir Kuzichkin, the high-ranking KGB (the security organization of the USSR) agent who escaped in 1982 from his post in Tehran and took asylum in the West, revealed a Soviet plot to assassinate Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi. Kuzichkin writes in his book, The Internal Secrets of the KGB, that in 1962 Soviet agents tried to kill the late shah by placing a Volkswagen filled with explosives along the route of his car in Tehran. But when the shah's vehicle passed the car with the explosives, because of a slight error, the explosives did not explode and the shah escaped death. The explosives in the car were so powerful that had they exploded, they would have destroyed everything within a radius of several hundred meters.

Kuzichkin writes: "When the operation failed, the car with the explosives inside was left in the street in Tehran, and it was feared that it would explode and destroy everything and everybody within a radius of 500 meters. Finally, an explosives expert affiliated with the USSR succeeded in disarming the bomb." The reason for the failure of the bomb that was supposed to kill Mohammad Reza Shah is precisely explained by Kuzichkin: "The explosives agent was supposed to press and hold the remote button for three seconds to explode the bomb, but he made a mistake; he pressed the button once and let it go."

In 1982, while working at the Soviet Embassy in Tehran, Gen. Kuzichkin escaped to the West and provided valuable information to Western intelligence agencies. British and American intelligence agents interrogated Kuzichkin for a long time. Some time later, a list of Iranian spies for the Soviet Union was placed at the disposal of Khomeyni by the United States. With access to this information, Khomeyni ordered the shut down of the Tudeh Party and the arrest of its officials. The Soviet Union had been able to infiltrate all parts of Iran through the open and secret members of the Tudeh Party. In the executions that followed, among others, Admiral Afzali, the commander of the Navy of the Islamic Republic, was executed for spying for the Soviet Union.

*European Banks Announce Readiness to Cooperate

91AS0105I London KEYHAN in Persian 11 Oct 90 p 4

[Interview with Mohsen Nurbakhsh, Minister of Economic Affairs and Finance, and 'Adeli, Director General of the Central Bank, by the media; date and place not specified.]

[Text] The recent visit to the United States of Mohsen Nurbakhsh, the minister of economic affairs and finance of the Islamic Republic, and 'Adeli, the director general of the Central Bank of the regime, to participate in a meeting of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank and to carry out negotiations with the officials of these establishments resulted in the directors of some European banks and financial institutions declaring their readiness to grant credit and loans to the Islamic Republic. In addition, the officials of the International Monetary Fund announced last week that they will send a delegation to Iran to study the needs of the earthquake-stricken areas in the northern part of the country for the purpose of reconstruction. After the necessary reports are received from this delegation, the needed loan will be granted to the Islamic regime for the implementation of reconstruction operations. After returning from the United States, Mohsen Nurbakhsh,

the minister of economic affairs and finance of the Islamic Republic, told reporters and representatives of the media that the delegation of the International Monetary Fund will in its visit in the near future determine the programs and the projects for reconstruction of the earthquake-stricken areas with the agreement of the Islamic Republic and the World Bank. Also, in a press conference, 'Adeli, the director general of the Central Bank of the Islamic Republic, implicitly referred to the efforts of the Islamic Republic to receive financial aid and loans from the monetary resources and foreign banks and said: "In addition to the meeting with the World Bank, meetings were held with the directors of French, Austrian, Italian and German banks, all of whom announced their readiness for financial and credit cooperation with Iran." The director general of the Central Bank of the Islamic Republic added: "We reached high-level agreements with two banks for funds in the projects of Note 29."

Nancy Dan, the economic analyst of the FINANCIAL TIMES, published in London, in a report sent from Washington, announced that in response to the request of the Islamic regime in Tehran to the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, these two establishments will send a delegation to Iran by the end of this week to study the needs for the reconstruction of the earthquake-stricken regions. The above-mentioned newspaper writes in its report: "If the proposal to pay loans to the Islamic Republic is approved, this will be the first time since 1979 that the World Bank has granted Iran financial credit."

Financial sources close to the World Bank announced that Iran has not yet paid back the entire loan that it received in the mid-1970s and that it now owes about $116 million to this bank.

*Export of Goods to Iraq Reportedly Continues

91AS0105K London KEYHAN in Persian 11 Oct 90 p 4

[Text] At the start of negotiations to renew diplomatic relations between the Islamic Republic and Iraq, Western news sources reported that local smugglers, merchants, salesmen, and ranchers in the Western border areas of Iran were continuing to export consumer goods and foodstuff to Iraq.

The export of foodstuff to Iraq continues, despite the claims of the officials of the Islamic Republic that the economic embargo against the Baghdad regime is in effect. Based on reports from reliable news sources, a vital role in exporting goods and foodstuff to Iraq is played by individuals in close contact with the officials of the Islamic regime in Tehran. According to a report by the independent British radio and television network, in the past week, Iranian merchants and border dwellers have transported 1,000 trucks carrying foodstuff, drugs, and other consumer goods to Iraq. The above-mentioned network announced that the report on the continuation of the export of foodstuff to Iraq by Iranians has been made available to the world media by the Muslim Brotherhood. Early last week, a group of religious leaders in contact with the Muslim Brotherhood who support Iraq left for Tehran for talks with the officials of the Islamic Republic and to encourage the Tehran regime to support Iraq and allow merchants to export foodstuff and drugs to that country.

*Oil Supplied to Poland, Czechoslovakia

91AS0105L London KEYHAN in Persian 11 Oct 90 p 4

[Text] Eastern European countries, following the refusal of the Soviet Union to deliver oil free of charge or at a low price to them, are trying to sign barter agreements to make up for their needed energy shortages, by delivering manufactured goods in exchange for oil from the Islamic Republic. According to a report by the MIDDLE EAST ECONOMIC SURVEY, published in Cyprus, Poland has recently signed an agreement with the officials of the Islamic Republic to purchase oil from that country, and soon the delivery of purchased goods will begin. The above-mentioned publication reported the amount of oil purchased from Iran by Poland to be a million tons annually and pointed out that this transaction will involve bartering. In exchange for the crude oil from the Islamic Republic, Poland will deliver industrial products and other needed goods. The weekly economic publication pointed out that the main reason behind Poland's attempt to acquire more oil from the Islamic Republic is the refusal of the Soviet Union to deliver crude oil to that country, and also because Warsaw, due to the imposition of international regulations for an economic embargo against Iraq, does not wish to purchase oil from that country.

INDEPENDENT, published in London, also reporting the situation in the oil world market, wrote: "Early last week, Poland received its first shipment of oil purchased from Iran."

The above-mentioned newspaper added: "The news of the signing of an agreement to purchase oil from the Islamic Republic was made available to the media some time ago by Marcin Swiecicki, Poland's minister of foreign economic relations."

INDEPENDENT pointed out that Poland's minister of foreign economic relations signed the agreement with the oil officials of the Islamic Republic to purchase crude oil from Iran in a visit to Tehran some time ago. Simultaneously, DIE WELT, published in Germany, also announced that following the purchase of oil from Iran by Poland, Czechoslovakia is also trying to purchase the oil it needs from the Islamic Republic and Venezuela, if the Soviet Union refuses to sell, and also if the economic embargo against Iraq continues. This newspaper added: "Czechoslovakian officials at the present time are negotiating with the oil officials of Iran, Mexico, and Venezuela to purchase oil."

*Commentary Reflects on Experts' Elections

91AS0105M London KEYHAN in Persian
11 Oct 90 p 12

[Text] The dismissal of 'Abdol-Karim Musavi-Ardabili; Mehdi Karrubi, the speaker of the Majles; 'Ali Akbar Mohtashemi and Sadeq Khalkhali, influential representatives of the Majles, from being representatives in the Assembly of Experts has been interpreted as a "mini-coup d'etat" in Tehran. The battle, the visible side of which has been smaller than its invisible side, has now changed, and the visible side has become larger than the invisible side.

'Ali Khamene'i, the leader of the Islamic Republic, who before the recent events sometimes supported the "moderates" and sometimes the "extremists," has now been forced to support the Council of Guardians, which has prevented the entry of important individuals of the regime into the Assembly of Experts. It has become clear more than ever before that in the show of force in the Islamic Republic, Rafsanjani and Khamene'i have divided the roles between themselves.

What is the place of Ahmad Khomeyni? He had hoped to create a faction against Khamene'i in the Assembly of Experts with the support of Mohtashemi and Karrubi, but now he alone must go to that assembly and in practice submit to all they say.

The likely entry of Musavi-Kho'iniha and Mohammadi-Reyshahri to the Assembly of Experts may prevent this, so that all the extremist forces in the Islamic Republic support Mohtashemi, Khalkhali, and Karrubi. While the "moderates" in the regime have been able to form a united front in the elections for the Assembly of Experts, the "extremists" have for the first time confronted disunity among their ranks.

The "extremists," who have lost hope in the Assembly of Experts, will probably concentrate their forces in the Majles, in which they hold a majority, to confront the government of Rafsanjani. It was not accidental that simultaneous with the passing over of several well-known figures for the next Assembly of Experts, there is a plan being studied in the Majles to dismiss the "liberals," or "Hojjatiyyeh" members, from "key" and sensitive positions. The extremists of the Majles consider some of the members of Rafsanjani's Cabinet to be "liberals" and "Hojjatiyyeh" members. Informed observers in Tehran say that after the elections for the Assembly of Experts have concluded, the three-member Rafsanjani-Khamene'i-Yazdi group will begin a new effort to reduce the power of the Majles.

The plan of the group is for the "Expediency Discernment Council," an institution created by Khomeyni, to arbitrate between the Majles and the Council of Guardians, thereby for all practical purposes replacing the Majles.

*Further on Factionalism, Corruption Rumors

91AS0105N London KEYHAN in Persian
11 Oct 90 p 12

[Text] In the Sunday, 30 September session of the Majles, a fight erupted between the "extremist" and "moderate" representatives in which several representatives were injured. But it is said that 10 days earlier, another fight erupted, reports of which were not leaked, in the course of which Mehdi Karrubi, the speaker of the Majles, fell in the Majles corridor and was severely hurt in the waist.

The reports also indicate that Mehdi Karrubi suffered heart problems following the fight. Karrubi has suffered two heart attacks so far, and if the above report is true, this would mark his third heart attack.

Mehdi Karrubi, who is considered a person very close to the "house of the Imam," in fact rules the Majles in the name of Ahmad Khomeyni, who did not accept the invitation of the Majles representatives to become the speaker of the Majles.

In Tehran, there is a strong rumor that Hasan Karrubi, the brother of Mehdi Karrubi, is involved in the extensive corruption that has taken place in government and government-related establishments. In fact, in the case of 'Ali Musavi-Qomi, the head of the Nabovvat foundation, which is still open in the Justice Department, the name of Hasan Karrubi has come up frequently, even though he has refused to come to the court as an informer or a witness. Some rumors indicate the arrest of Hasan Karrubi.

Informed circles now speak of the processing of "cases" which exist in the Justice Department against some known figures in the regime but were prevented from being processed during the time when 'Abdol-Karim Musavi-Ardabili was the chief justice. One of these cases concerns Sheikh Sadeq Khalkhali.

Pakistan

National Assembly To Convene 3 Nov

BK0111080090 Islamabad Domestic Service in Urdu
0200 GMT 1 Nov 90

[Text] The newly elected National Assembly has been summoned by the president to meet in Islamabad on Saturday [3 November] at 0800 in the morning. The members-elect will take oaths of office on the same day and election of the speaker and the deputy speaker is to be held on Sunday [4 November]. A press release by the National Assembly Secretariat reports invitations for the session have been issued to all members. In view of the short notice, telegrams have also been issued. Reception desks have been set up at the VIP lounge of the Islamabad airport to provide transportation and accomodation facilities to the members-elect. Pakistan International Airlines and the railways authorities have been

directed to ensure their seat confirmations. Arrangements have also been made in the Parliament House to issue identity cards to the members. The members-elect have been requested to convey their travel plans and accomodation requirements to the National Assembly Secretariat in Islamabad on telephone numbers 828335 and 828633. The National Assembly secretariat will remain open tomorrow.

The president of the Pakistan Muslim League, Mr. Mohammad Khan Junejo, has announced that Mian Nawaz Sharif has been nominated as the parliamentary leader of the Pakistan Muslim League. He made the announcement while talking to newsmen after a high-level meeting of the party in Islamabad yesterday According to Punjab Chief Minister Ghulam Hyder Wyne the decision to elect Mian Nawaz Sharif has been taken unanimously. Mian Nawaz Sharif said that he would step down from the presidency of the Pakistan Muslim League, Punjab.

Azad Kashmir Leaders Condemn Mosque Incident

BK3110161590 Islamabad Domestic Service in Urdu 1500 GMT 31 Oct 90

[Text] Azad Jammu and Kashmir President Sardar Mohammad Abdul Qayyum Khan and Prime Minister Mumtaz Hussain Rathod have strongly condemned the desecration of Babri Mosque by Hindus in India. In separate statements, they said this action of Hindus is a serious attack on the basic right of Muslims and an open challenge to the Muslim community.

Nawaz Sharif Consults Allies; IJI To Meet 1 Nov

BK3110165690 Islamabad Domestic Service in English 1600 GMT 31 Oct 90

[Text] The president of the Islami Jamhoori Ittehad [Islamic Democratic Alliance, IJI], Mr. Nawaz Sharif, had a meeting with the ANP [Awami National Party] chief, Khan Abdul Wali Khan and Begum Nasim Wali Khan in Peshawar today. Later, Begum Nasim Wali Khan said they discussed the political situation in the country. She said the ANP would continue to work with the IJI for the solidarity and integrity of the country. Mr. Nawaz Sharif also had a meeting with the newly elected MNA's [members of National Assembly] from FATA [federally-administered tribal areas]. Talking to them, the IJI chief said they would strengthen national integration and solidarity and work for the welfare of the people. Speedy justice would be provided to the people and all-out efforts would be made to develop the country. Mr. Nawaz Sharif also met the newly-elected members of the NWFP [Northwest Frontier Province] Assembly, including independent MPA's [members of the provincial assembly].

The IJI chief, later talking to newsmen, said it is their desire to give clean and undiluted democracy to the nation so that it takes us (?back) toward its real destination. He said they do not want to victimize anybody for political purposes. However, cases of accountability would continue till their decision by the courts.

A meeting of the parliamentary party of the newly-elected members of the National Assembly belonging to the Islami Jamhoori Ittehad and other like-minded members is being held in Islamabad tomorrow. It is also likely to be attended by FATA MNA's, independents and minority members.

Further on Elections, Foreign Observers

Commissioner Denies Fraud

BK3110155790 Islamabad Domestic Service in Urdu 1500 GMT 31 Oct 90

[Text] The chief election commissioner, Mr. Justice Naimuddin, has said elections were held fairly, freely, and honestly, and in accordance with the law. Addressing a news conference in Islamabad this afternoon, he said that if there is any drawback, responsibility for it does not lie with the Election Commission but with former legislators who were responsible for removing any fault. He said there is no question of rigging, keeping in view the procedure adopted by the Election Commission. However, the doors of the Election Commission are open to those who can provide proof of election rigging, and the commission would then take action under the law. He said the commission has received only 12 applications for recounting of votes. Of these, four were from National Assembly and eight from provincial assembly seats. It has also received 20 applications for repolling in five National Assembly and 15 provincial assembly constituencies. These applications are now being heard by the Election Commission.

About the demand for recounting of votes in the presence of the candidates who participated in the elections, the chief election commissioner said this can be done only when the returning officers are given concrete reasons.

The chief election commissioner said that before the elections even the newspapers supporting the People's Democratic Alliance said the Election Commission was discharging its duties with honesty, but after the results were announced they began to criticize. He said observer teams from the National Democratic Institute, Canada, and the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation nations described the election process as free, fair, organized, and positive. About the French observer team, the chief election commissioner said this team arrived in Pakistan on the day of National Assembly polling, and it was not at all able to understand the process under which the elections were being held. That is why the French observers made their remarks according to information provided to them.

Replying to a question, he said the election results are expected to be announced tonight or tomorrow.

French Observers Report

BK3110111890 Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 31 Oct 90 pp 1, 6

[Text] Islamabad, Oct. 30—A French observers team sent by the International Federation of Human Rights [IFHR] to monitor the recent polls in Pakistan has in its report concluded that the results giving a very large majority to the IJI [Islamic Democratic Alliance] can be explained by a mechanism of highly sophisticated rigging.

According to a press release issued by the team, rigging could have occurred between the polling stations and the offices responsible for collecting results at the constituency level.

The team comprised Mrs. Nathalie Muller, barrister, Miss Carine Jacoby, barrister, Justice Olivier de Baynest and Justice Serge Petit.

According to the report, the election campaign was held in an atmosphere of great tension against Ms Benazir Bhutto. However, it said that the electoral proceedings were held with great care, giving the impression of regularity.

The team said serious irregularities were noticed by the observers at the local level. It reported coming across two identical identity cards at the Lahore constituency, NA-95 where Nawaz Sharif and Air Marshal (Retd) Asghar Khan were the candidates.

The team reported the refusal of the officials to give to the observers the Oct. 24 election results in the Lahore constituency NA-96 where Shahbaz Sharif and Jehangir Bader were the candidates.

The team reported that there were hindrances of the representatives of the parties in the vote counting process at polling stations F-7/2 and F-7/3 Islamabad.

The team reported the presence of armed policemen during the vote counting process (i.e. at polling station 145 in Kasur I for the provincial elections; at polling station E-8 Islamabad and polling stations 82/83 in the south Karachi-3 constituency NA-191 for October 24 elections).

Among other things, the team said:

—Voters being prevented from casting their votes, their names having already been used for this purpose (Lahore).

—Number of votes exceeding voters number (i.e. PP-128 Mian Khalid Saeed constituency). And on the whole, general harassment against PDA [People's Democratic Alliance] representatives.

From explanations provided by PDA and without the complete official figures more than five days after the general elections—the Chief Election Commissioner having stated that the computer was out of order and that there was a lack of personnel to explain this—it seems that the resuslts giving a very large majority to IJI, against deposed Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto, can be partly explained by a mechanism of highly sophisticated rigging which would have occurred between the polling stations and the offices responsible for collecting results at the constituency level.

PDA states that some presiding officers were devoted to IJI before the elections. While they should have forwarded the results immediately to the returning officers, some of the presiding officers may have stopped in intermediary places held by civil servants and may have replaced some envelopes, adding more IJI voting paper.

IFHR delegation gives some credence to these explanations as follows:

—All observers had noticed, on election days, a small turnout which did not add up in the final results.

—Only the figures of the first two candidates have been announced.

—The polling stations were closed at 5 p.m., the vote counting ended around 6.30 p.m.; but the results coming from the polling stations only reached the returning officers around midnight instead of 9.30 p.m. as was the case in previous elections.

—No official record was given to the presiding officers and the party representatives as had been done in previous elections.

Moreover it is unfortunate that the day after the first election an observer team from NDI [National Democratic Institute] deemed it right to hold a Press conference stating that, apart from a new incident, the proceedings were "regular" and the results "not at all affected". This statement had a considerable impact, on the eve of the second election, being on the front page of the newspapers and destabilising the balance of forces.

In conclusion: (I) Official figures have still not been published, which causes some doubts on the electoral proceedings, but the rigging allegations submitted by the PDA will be difficult for them to establish in the absence of proper post-vote counting records.

(II) Unofficial figures show that PPP [Pakistan People's Party], with regard to 1988 elections, has not totally collapsed although it has sustained serious losses.

Therefore, it is really surprising that IJI got such a considerable lead, which would tend to demonstrate that many new votes have gone exclusively to this party, while all observers had noticed a small turnout on election days.

Commentary Considers U.S. Aid, Loan Problems

BK3110162690 Islamabad Domestic Service in English 1600 GMT 30 Oct 90

[Commentary by Dr. A.R. Kamal: "U.S. Aid and Its Effects on Pakistan's Economy"]

[Text] Suspension of American aid and problems with disbursement of various loans sanctioned by the IMF, World Bank, and Asian Development Bank have plunged Pakistan into deep economic and financial crises. At a time when Pakistan's balance of payments is under extreme pressure due to the Gulf crisis, the suspension of aid is most unfortunate. However, it has also been argued that the aid suspension may well have been a blessing in disguise as it may initiate a move toward self-reliance. It is high time that the country understands the true implications of aid and its suspension.

Pakistan runs a balance of payments deficit equal to $2 billion, which is also manifested in the fact that almost one-quarter of investment is financed through foreign capital. Obviously, it implies that unless Pakistan wants to raise the savings rate by at least 25 percent, self-reliance would amount to serious trouble with the growth of per capita income in Pakistan. It needs to be noted that the suspension of aid can be a blessing if both the government and the people are willing to reduce the consumption. It means that on average each household shall have to reduce its consumption by 3,000 rupees per annum, which is no more than 6 percent of the per capita consumption. Take it differently, aid allows an increase in consumption without adverse implications for growth rate. However, the increase in consumption is at the cost of an increase in the burden on the future generations and leaves the nation at the mercy of donors who may terminate their aid when it is needed the most. Whereas gross aid to Pakistan exceeds $2 billion in 1989-90, net aid flow has been only $804 million. Almost 60 percent of the aid is required to finance the debt servicing.

When Pakistan received a large quantity of aid in the 1960's, it was argued that aid leading to higher growth rate of output and exports would lead to self-reliance by 1985. However, on the contrary, debt burden has increased from $3 billion in 1969-70 to $15 billion in 1989-90. As a matter of fact, if [word indistinct] debt is also accounted for, the debt burden is as high as $24 billion. Therefore, foreign aid did not supplement our investable resources, but, in fact, has only resulted in a higher level of consumption. Accordingly, the growth strategy based on foreign capital would never allow the attainment of self-reliance. It is estimated that without a very substantial increase in savings rate, it may take more than 100 years to attain self-reliance.

If the aid suspension results in national resolve that they would forego an increase in consumption, over the next three years Pakistan can realize a self-reliant and self-attained growth rate ranging between 6 to 7 percent. However, that may imply higher taxation and voluntary reduction in consumption. Is the nation up to it? Past record does not hold much promise.

While in the long-term aid suspension may be a blessing in disguise, if the nation makes a move toward self-reliance, the short-term impact on the economy is severe. The Gulf crisis may worsen the balance of payments by another $2 billion, leading to a deficit of $4 billion. If aid is not forthcoming, how is the government going to finance such a huge deficit? It may lead to severe cuts in imports, leading to low levels of investment and low capital utilization, or raising loans in commercial markets with very serious implications for debt servicing.

The U.S.A. accouts for one-fifth of aid Pakistan receives. However, because she is the major donor on concession and because she has great influence over the international finance agencies, American aid suspension would greatly reduce the capital inflows. It may be noted that U.S. aid is generally tied to U.S. [word indistinct] prices, especially when imported into Pakistan, are 50 percent higher than the world prices. Moreover, restricting the imports to the U.S. liners only raises the cost further. Therefore, grant elements in soft loans appear fewer, but in real terms Pakistan may not lose much if Pakistan has to switch from U.S. aid to commercial loans. However, because many other loans, especially International Development Agency loans, which carry very low interest rates and are not tied, will not be available any longer in the absence of U.S. aid, Pakistan will have to rely on U.S. aid for some time. Nevertheless, Pakistan must prepare herself to live without aid so that she can independently pursue her economic policy.

Paper Cites Indian Moves Against Kashmir Muslims

BK3110124090 Lahore THE NATION in English 31 Oct 90 p 2

[Editorial: "India's New Kashmir Strategy"]

[Text] In the face of a completely alienated population and with little prospect of success of its pacification programme, India seems to have changed its strategy in Kashmir. There is no longer a pretence now of winning the hearts and minds of the people. In fact everything, including human rights violations on a massive scale, is being done to achieve the opposite. And the fact that the Indian Army is doing it quite openly, without any subterfuge, without trying to keep a facade of its so-called secular rule, shows that it does not care if its image of the largest democracy of the world is finished, provided its occupation of Kashmir by force of arms, is complete. This is borne out by a number of things that India is doing. It began with terrorisation of the Muslim population of the border villages, which led to the mass exodus of those people to Pakistan. The entire belt of Kashmir bordering Pakistan, has now been depopulated—few Muslims are left there. Its next step was to burn down the houses and shopping areas owned by Muslims in urban areas, such as Srinagar. Left without their homes and their means of livelihood, Muslims have

begun leaving the valley. Some two thousand people have already left or are leaving.

Border areas cleared and cities destroyed under a systematic plan, the next on the list are rural areas in the interior of the valleys. The plan to get them evacuated revolves round two independent strategies. The crops this year are reported to be good. One of the strategies is to burn them down in selected areas, either through sabotage or through imaginary conflicts against the freedom fighters. This would create famine conditions, forcing people out. The second strategy, already partly being implemented, would be to surround villages on the plea of search for the freedom fighters. In these operations young women will be carried off by the troops. This would lead many families to leave their homes. Worked together and systematically, these strategies would eventually force the bulk of the Muslim population out of Kashmir. It does not matter where they go, so long as they do not go to any other part of Kashmir. What India would then be left with would be the land minus its people. That is what it wants now.

'World's Biggest' Heroin Seizure Reported

BK3110130290 Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 31 Oct 90 pp 1, 8

[Text] Karachi, Oct. 30—Mystery shrouds the world's biggest heroin seizure of 1800 kilograms worth at least 250 million dollars in the international underworld drug market.

This gigantic drug seizure, during which eight metric tons of cannibas and thousands of weapons were seized was made after a fierce gun-battle between the para-military troops and the private army of a major drug baron on Oct. 10 near Dalbandin close to Iranian border in Balochistan. Three weeks have passed since this major incident took place but the authorities in Balochistan or in Islamabad have yet to make a formal announcement about the happening.

This correspondent has learned on authority that such was the magnitude of this huge drug and arms seizure that both President Ghulam Ishaq Khan and the Chief of Army Staff Gen. Mirza Aslam Beg were briefed on the case only a few hours after the gun-battle in the desert close to the Iranian borders.

A para-military soldier was killed and a Pakistan army captain was badly wounded in the battle during which rockets were also used by both sides. At least six people including a known sardar of the Notezai tribe, which control the area were killed in the operation.

"We were expecting international recognition, rewards and promotions, but nothing has come so far", confided a senior Frontier Constabulary [FC] source who talked to this correspondent from Quetta on condition of anonymity.

Investigations by this correspondent have revealed that the man behind this major drug operation was a key figure of the Notezai tribe, whose leaders have emerged as God father of the Balochistan politics.

It may be astonishing to note that despite a huge multi-tons heroin and hash smuggling operations through land and sea exit routes, no Pakistan anti-drugs agency has maintained presence here. Press reports have repeatedly identified the Mekran coast as the most active zone for drugs smuggling operations from Pakistan.

Considering the amount of mostly "by chance" seizures made in this area in the past six months time, Pakistani and western drug officials estimate that at least 300 metric tons of cannibas, often mixed with separate consignments of heroin, left Mekran coastal areas for Europe and north America during the current year.

The recent seizure of heroin, hash, Kalashnikovs, rocket launchers, RPGs and lacs of live rounds has once again proved that Balochistan's land and sea borders are rapidly coming under drug barons' control, who now have the strength to meet the challenge from the law enforcing agencies.

This correspondent has learned that on hearing the news of this massive seizure a team of United States drug Enforcement Administration officials inspected the seized stocks of drugs in Balochistan this week. Both Pakistani and US drug officials estimate that the finest quality of the white heroin which was seized during this operation, would fetch at least 150,000 million dollars per kilogram in the West. [sentence as published]

Interviews by this correspondent have revealed that this latest seizure was made at a place called Chilghazi near Balbandin. The FC sources informed that an influential elder of the Notezai tribe was the man behind the operation. "He disappeared as we made frantic calls to Islamabad and Quetta to seek arrest warrants for his arrest," revealed a senior FC source.

FC and other sources also disclosed that the authorities were well aware that a number of heroin factories were being operated in the same area, but for reasons best known to officials in Quetta and Islamabad no major action has yet been mounted to eliminate these make-shift factories.

The cool response from the authorities look more intriguing in view that efforts were made to keep this massive seizure secret from the nation and the rest of the world.

It will be interesting to watch if the key players behind this multi-billion dollars drugs and guns seizures would ever be arrested and authorities move to eliminate their bases in the areas close to Iranian borders and along the Mekran coastal range.